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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

BY

THEODORET AND EVAGRIUS.



A

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM A. D. 322 TO THE DEATH OF THEODORE OF
MOPSUESTIA, A. D. 427,

BY

T H E O D O R E *us*
BISHOP OF CYRUS

AND

FROM A. D. 431 TO A. D. 594,

BY

E V A G R I U S.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK: WITH MEMOIRS OF THE
AUTHORS.

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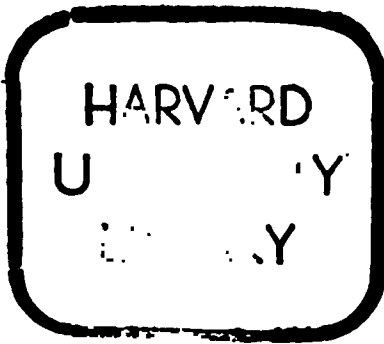
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LIFE OF THEODORET,

AND AN

ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

THEODORET, the author of the following history, was born at Antioch, about the year 387. His parents had long been childless; and it is related that much prayer was offered, and especially by Macedonius, a hermit, that a son might be born unto them. Hence, when at length, in answer to prayer, this child was granted to them, the name Θεοδώρητος was conferred upon him, signifying, *given by God*.

Little is known respecting the childhood and early youth of Theodoret, except that his mother, who seems herself to have been a remarkable character, dedicated him to God from his very cradle. According to some accounts he was placed in a monastery at the age of seven, where he studied theology and the sciences under Theodorus of Mopsuestia and St. John Chrysostom. Certain it is, that much of his life was devoted to study; for it is evident from his works that he was a very learned man, conversant with classical and theological literature, and acquainted with several languages besides his own, which was the Syriac. He entered upon the work of the ministry at a very tender age; for he was but a child when he was appointed to be one of the Lectores, or public readers of Scripture. His parents, who were persons of rank and affluence, died when he had scarcely attained to manhood, leaving him in possession of a splendid inheritance. He, however, despised the gifts of fortune, and chose a life of voluntary poverty. He renounced his land and his honours, and distributed all that he possessed among the poor, reserving nothing for himself but his clothes, which were of very inferior quality. The next years of his life were spent in retirement in a monastery about thirty leagues

from Antioch. In A. D. 423 he was compelled, almost by force, to relinquish his solitude, and to enter upon the duties of the episcopal office. He was ordained by the bishop of Antioch, and sent to govern the church of Cyrus, in Syria Euphratensis, with its eight hundred villages. This new field of labour offered many discouragements, yet the self-denying and zealous spirit of Theodoret soon changed the whole aspect of affairs. Although, on his first appointment, the diocese was full of Arians, Macedonians, Eunomians, and other heretics, yet in the year 449 not one heretic could be found throughout the whole region. Nor were his labours confined to his own diocese; for Pagans and Jews from distant countries constantly resorted to him, and he publicly confuted all the arguments and objections which they could advance against Christianity. He attributed his success to prayer, and particularly to the persevering supplications of James, a hermit.

Theodoret was also active in promoting the temporal welfare of his flock. He greatly beautified the city of Cyrus, which was but a small and almost deserted town when he first fixed his residence in it. He built an aqueduct and a canal to supply the former deficiency of water. He likewise repaired the baths, and erected public galleries and two bridges in this city. His whole public life seems to have been one of ceaseless exertion; and in one of his works he describes himself as engaged "in the hurry of a thousand occupations, both in the city and in the country, both military and civil, both ecclesiastical and secular."

The rage of controversy, so characteristic of mediæval history, interrupted the useful and dignified tenor of his existence. About A. D. 430, he became involved in a dispute concerning the heresy of Nestorius, whose cause he espoused. The distinguishing tenet of Nestorius was his refusal to give to the Virgin Mary the title of Θεοτόκος, or Mother of God. That Theodoret should have sided with this heresiarch can only be accounted for upon the supposition that he did not perceive, that, unlike most of the disputes of the period, this heresy was not a mere quibble about words, but involved a doctrine of no less importance than the Divinity of the Son of God. Theodoret uniformly and strenuously adhered to this doctrine, although he rejected this particular term, Θεοτόκος.

Most probably his conduct in rejecting the term, while he maintained the thing signified, was mainly, if not wholly, attributable to the friendship which had long subsisted between him and Nestorius, and to the personal pique which had arisen between him and St. Cyril, the principal opponent of the heresy.

In A. D. 431, the council of Ephesus was convened by the emperor Theodosius, for the purpose of allaying the dissensions which the Nestorian heresy had excited in the church. At this council Nestorius was excommunicated, and his heresy condemned. Several of his most zealous partisans, and among them Theodoret, were deposed from their ecclesiastical offices. The disputes, however, still continued with unabated acrimony; and it was not till A. D. 435 that Theodoret was induced, by the entreaties of certain holy brethren, to become reconciled with the hostile party: he then renounced the defence of Nestorius, and was accordingly reinstated in his bishopric.

The remainder of his life was not spent in tranquillity.

He soon became involved in a fresh controversy with Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the see of Alexandria. Theodoret was accused of maligning the memory of St. Cyril. Another cause of the dispute was, that Theodoret vehemently opposed the Eutychian heresy, which Dioscorus as firmly upheld. The heresy of Eutyches was directly opposite to that of Nestorius; for while the latter denied that the Divine nature was truly united to the human nature in Christ in one person, the former denied that the two natures in Christ remained distinct. In this controversy Theodoret suffered a second defeat. Dioscorus raised up enemies against him in Constantinople, who accused him of propagating heresy in the church, and of teaching that there are two Sons. Theodosius the younger received these calumnies without examination: he signed the deposition of Theodoret and forbade his quitting Cyrus. This mandate was pronounced about the year 447. Theodoret was then at Antioch: he quitted the city without saying farewell to any one, and, according to this sentence, retired to Cyrus, where he remained till 450, wholly occupied in literary labours, and in writing letters in self-justification. One of these letters was addressed to Dioscorus, but no regard was paid to it: on the contrary, Theodoret was publicly ana-

thematized in Alexandria, and fresh complaints against him were laid before the emperor. Soon after, another council was held at Ephesus, at which Dioscorus presided, and here Theodoret was excommunicated. Theodoret appealed to St. Leo, the bishop of Rome, in a long letter, in which he recounted the services which he had rendered to the church, referred to his writings as containing proofs of his orthodoxy, and complained of the injustice of the council in condemning him unheard and during his absence. In 450 he obtained permission from Theodosius to quit Cyrus, and to retire to a monastery. Theodosius died the same year (450), and was succeeded by Marcian, who had married his sister Pulcheria. Marcian recalled Theodoret; and, at the instance of St. Leo, convened the council of Chalcedon. Here the enemies of Theodoret raised loud clamours against him, recommenced their accusations, and insisted upon his pronouncing anathema against Nestorius. Theodoret desired rather to explain his own doctrines than to anathematize his friend: at length, overpowered by the numbers of his enemies, he exclaimed, "Anathema to Nestorius, and to all who do not confess that the Virgin Mary is the mother of God." Upon this compliance with the demands of the council, he was formally reinstated in his episcopal dignity. The few remaining years of his life seem to have been passed in retirement. He is thought to have died about A. D. 458, probably in the seventieth or eightieth year of his age. Even after his death his enemies renewed their attacks, and again called his orthodoxy into question. His works were condemned as heretical at the fifth general council: but, according to the almost unanimous decision of posterity, this sentence was unjust; for from his earliest youth he had been diligently instructed in the doctrines of the Nicene confession of faith; and throughout his life he invariably adhered to the principles of the *Homoousians*, or those who maintained the consubstantiality of the three Divine Persons of the Trinity. The condemnation of the council referred to those points wherein he was blameless, while the real errors of his doctrines escaped undetected.

The most considerable of the works of Theodoret is a "Commentary on the Bible." The first part of this Commentary is arranged in the form of question and answer, and those passages only are proposed for elucidation which were con-

sidered difficult of interpretation by the author. The literal and most obvious sense of Scripture is generally adhered to throughout this work ; yet some very singular opinions are occasionally advanced. For instance, the Spirit of God, which is stated to have moved upon the face of the waters, (Gen. i.,) is here represented as signifying only the air : and a supposition equally untenable is introduced, of there being two heavens, namely, the heavens properly so called, and the firmament, "which," says Theodoret, "God made of the fluid substance of the water after he had condensed it and rendered it solid." A most charitable construction is put on the conduct of some of the persons mentioned in Scripture. Thus our author adduces the intemperance of Noah as a proof of the previous sobriety of his life, and asserts that he was ignorant of the inebriating property of wine. He acquits Jacob of falsehood and deceit in passing himself off for his elder brother, on the ground that, having purchased the right of primogeniture, he was, in truth, the first-born son. In the same spirit, he says that Rachel was merely actuated by her anxiety to deter her father from idolatry, when she purloined his idols.

Although Theodoret has been generally accused of being too bold in his metaphors, some of his illustrations seem particularly happy. For instance, in the answer to the twelfth question on Exodus, "What am I to understand by God's having hardened Pharaoh's heart?" Theodoret, after giving some explanation of the subject, illustrates it in the following manner : "The sun is said to melt wax and to harden mud, although it possesses only the property of giving heat ; so the patience and goodness of God produce two contrary effects in different individuals, being useful to the one and rendering the other more guilty ; hence it is said, that some are thus converted and others hardened." Select passages in each successive book, from Genesis to the Psalms, are expounded by means of question and answer in the mode above-mentioned. We possess his commentaries on every book in the Old Testament, except that on Isaiah, of which only some fragments have been preserved. In the elucidation of the New Testament he seems to have omitted the Gospels, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation, confining himself solely to the Epistles of St. Paul. The whole work is valuable as affording a clear view of the mode in which Scripture was usually handled by the

theologians of the fifth century, and of the interpretation most commonly attached by them to controverted passages.

The other writings of Theodoret, in the editions of his works, are usually arranged in nearly the following order:—

1. "Ecclesiastical History, in five books." It was written before the death of Theodosius the younger; for, in book v., chapter 36, Theodoret speaks of him as then reigning. Theodosius died July 29th, 450, and the history was probably completed the same year. It comprises a period of 105 years, namely, from A. D. 324, when Constantine the Great, having become master of the East, began to oppose the Arian heresy, which had then but recently arisen, to A. D. 429, or, according to some authors, A. D. 428; so that part of this history may be called the narrative of Theodoret's own times. It was intended to be supplementary to the ecclesiastical history of Socrates and Sozomen, both of which were written about the year 450. The author also designed it as a continuation of the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius; for he takes up the chain of events from the very point at which Eusebius broke off. Many important events, which are omitted by Socrates and Sozomen, and which would not otherwise have been transmitted to posterity, are recorded by Theodoret; he has preserved many particulars relative to the life of Athanasius, and of the Eastern bishops, and particularly those concerning Melitius, Flavian, and Eusebius of Samosata; and he thus throws light on various circumstances, which, but for him, would have created much doubt and obscurity in our knowledge of the history of this period. It is also by means of this history that we now possess some of the most important documents of the fourth century, such as synodical epistles, and the original letters of Arius, of emperors, and of other celebrated persons. The crying evil in the history of Theodoret is, the total omission of all chronology, and even of chronological order. Among the anachronisms and errors contained in it, may be specified the following:—Theodoret makes Eusebius of Nicomedia the successor of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, whereas Eusebius succeeded Paul (book i. chap. 16). He places the election of St. Ambrose at the commencement of the reign of Valentinian, although it took place ten years after the accession of that emperor (book iv. chap. 5). He places the sedition of Antioch after the massa-

cre of Thessalonica ; but the sedition occurred A. D. 388, and the massacre not till A. D. 390 (book iv. chap. 5). He also confounds the siege of Nisibis by the Persians in the year 350, with another siege which took place A. D. 359. These errors, however, do not affect the intrinsic value of the work. This history is, according to the learned Photius, superior to those of Socrates and Sozomen, being written in a style more consonant with the subject, and containing little that is superfluous.

2. The history entitled "Philotheus" is a record of the lives of about thirty anchorites, with some of whom Theodoret was personally acquainted. It chiefly consists in an account of the almost incredible austerities which they practised, and of the miracles which they wrought. Several cases, even of women, are adduced, who sequestered themselves from the world, and lived in a state of perpetual bodily mortification. He instances in particular an interview he had with two women who lived in the most rigid solitude within a narrow cell, but who, out of respect for his sacerdotal office, permitted him to enter: he found them loaded with chains, which the strongest men could scarcely have borne; and one of them was literally bowed down upon the ground beneath the weight, and unable to move: their existence was passed in this state. The most remarkable memoir in this work is that of St. Simeon Stylites, originally a peasant of Cilicia, who fixed his abode on the top of a pillar upwards of thirty-six cubits in height. The life, however, which he led upon this exalted pinnacle, was by no means an idle one, for he delivered public exhortations twice a day, and, according to report, performed the most extraordinary miracles, so that those who were diseased went to him, and were healed. He adjudged differences, and performed all the functions of a judge. He had much influence in the transactions of public affairs, and frequently wrote to the emperor, and to persons in authority. It was by him also that the affairs of the church were regulated, that the future success of any enterprise was determined, and that the arguments of Pagans, Jews, and heretics were confuted. The style in which this history is written may almost be called bombastical; and the author, by way of giving dignity to his subject, frequently compares his heroes to the patriarchs and prophets of old. Yet this

history cannot but be pronounced useful; for the men of whom it treats occupy a very prominent place in the records of those periods in which they lived. They held the highest place in the esteem and veneration of the public, and were not unfrequently called from their solitary and comfortless cells to the head of the largest and most important dioceses.

3. "Eranistes, or Polymorphus," a work which derives its name from its being designed to combat error under the many forms or shapes imparted to it by different heresies. Two persons are introduced as conversing on the subject: the one proposes questions and starts objections, the other defends the true faith. The doctrines mainly advocated in these dialogues may be briefly stated as follows:—Jesus Christ is both man and God. The human and the Divine nature are united in one person, yet these two natures subsist without mixture or confusion. At the end of the dialogues is a synopsis of the arguments previously advanced, arranged in the scholastic form; the dialogues themselves are written in an easy and familiar strain, and are intended for general readers. The style of the whole work is clear and logical. The objections of the opponent are well and fairly propounded, and the arguments brought against them, though not always very convincing, may yet be said, on the whole, to give indications of strong reasoning powers.

4. Another work "on Heresies." This treatise gives a detailed account of the errors held by various heresiarchs and sects. Four volumes, one devoted to these descriptions, arranged not chronologically, but, as it were, in classes according to the subject. In the fourth volume there are some very severe strictures against Nestorius; but their authenticity is doubted. Theodoret drew his materials for the compilation of this history from the most esteemed writers; and he cites St. Justin, St. Irenæus, St. Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Palestine, and several others as his authorities. A fifth volume is annexed, containing a clear and eloquent statement of the doctrines of the church as opposed to those of heretics.

5. "A Series of Ten Discourses on Providence," which have been pronounced the finest productions on the subject that have been handed down from antiquity. The first of these discourses treats on natural theology, constantly refer-

ring the sceptic to the works of God, to the sun, moon, and stars, which he has made. It seems probable that these were sermons prepared by Theodoret for the benefit of some particular congregation ; but the power of analogical reasoning which they exhibit, as well as the brilliant eloquence of the style, render them permanently valuable.

6. "Twelve Discourses on the Cure of Pagan Errors," a work in which the classical erudition of Theodoret is more fully displayed than in any other. He here quotes upwards of a hundred writers. The style is very elaborate ; the author evidently endeavoured to imitate that of Plato. These discourses were suggested by the public disputations which he frequently held with heretics of different denominations.

7. "Discourse on Charity." This is considered to have been intended as the conclusion of the work entitled "Phiktheus," which has been already mentioned. It extols the love and charity exhibited by those who suffered for the faith.

8. "Sermon upon St. John."

9. "Confutation of St. Cyril's Twelve Chapters." It must be observed, that Theodoret does not here combat any of the doctrines received as orthodox, but that he merely attacks the mode in which these doctrines are enunciated by St. Cyril.

10. Fragments of a book against St. Cyril.

11. "The Letters of Theodoret." These were very numerous ; they are generally arranged in the following order :—

1. "Letter to Sporatius," which, however, is rather a fragment of the treatise on heresies.

2. "Letter to John, bishop of Germanica."

3. "Some Letters written during the Time of the Council of Ephesus."

4. "Some Letters written in the Time of negotiating the Peace."

5. "Letters written after the Peace."

All these letters are divisible into two classes ; those which relate to his disputes with the bishops of Egypt, and which are all more or less imbued with the acrimony of party spirit ; and, secondly, the friendly and familiar letters which, though likewise very frequently of a polemical nature, relate chiefly to his own private affairs. These letters give an insight into the character and motives of Theodoret. They serve to prove the blamelessness of his course of life, and the piety, charity,

and true humility of his spirit. He seems to have excelled particularly in the epistolary style of writing; and his letters have been described as being just what letters ought to be, "short, plain, neat, courteous, elegant, full of matter, wit, and holiness."

The first collection of Theodoret's writings was printed at Cologne in 1573. An excellent edition of his works was published as early as 1642 at Paris, by Sirmond, in four volumes, folio, to which Garnier, in 1684, added a fifth volume, containing the letters and discourses of Theodoret, with long dissertations by the editor. An edition from this recension was published at Halle, A. D. 1769-74, by Nonselt, and this is the most recent edition which we possess of Theodoret's entire works.

Although it is evident, even from the above enumeration, that Theodoret was a voluminous writer, yet all his works have not been mentioned, many of them having been lost. The following is a list of those which are no longer extant:—

- Commentary on Isaiah.
- Five Books against St. Cyril.
- Treatise upon the Incarnation.

Several Treatises against the Arians, Apollinarists, Marcionists, and Jews.

An Answer to the Questions of the Persian Magi.

A Mystical Book.

Apology for Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and for Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia.

The following works are attributed to Theodoret, though not upon the best authority:—

Preface upon the Psalms.

Fragments of a Commentary upon the Psalms.

Five Sermons in Praise of St. Chrysostom.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
THEODORET.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.—DESIGN OF THIS WORK.

WHEN painters depict on tablets and on walls the events of ancient history, their delineations delight the eye, and preserve the remembrance of the past. But historians substitute books for canvass, flowery eloquence for brilliant colours, and thus render the recollection of past events much more vivid and permanent. Besides, as the most skilful productions of painting are liable to be destroyed by time, I have undertaken to record in writing events hitherto omitted in ecclesiastical history,¹ lest so many illustrious actions and incidents so deserving of fame, should be suffered to sink into oblivion. In addition to all this, I have been very frequently urged by my friends to undertake this work. But when I compared my own powers with the magnitude of the undertaking, I shrank from attempting it. Trusting, however, in the bounty of the Giver of all good, I feel emboldened to enter upon a task beyond my own strength.

Eusebius of Palestine has written a history of the church from the time of the holy apostles to that of Constantine, the prince beloved of God. I shall commence my history from the period at which his terminates.

¹ Valesius thinks that Theodoret is alluding here, not so much to Socrates and Sozomen, as to Eusebius. But nevertheless he remarks that the History of Theodoret contains little except the omissions of the first-mentioned writers.

CHAP. II.—ORIGIN OF THE ARIAN HERESY.

AFTER the death of the wicked tyrants, Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius, the storm abated which their atrocity had, like a furious whirlwind, excited against the church: the hostile winds were hushed, and tranquillity ensued. This was effected by Constantine, a prince deserving of the highest praise, who, like the divine apostle, was not called by man or through man, but by God. He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanding churches to be erected. He appointed believers to be the governors of the provinces, ordered that honour should be shown to the priests, and threatened with death those who dared to insult them. The churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt, and others still more spacious and magnificent than the former ones were erected. Hence the concerns of the church were smiling and prosperous, while those of her opponents were involved in disgrace and ruin. The temples of the idols were closed; but frequent assemblies were held, and festivals celebrated in the churches. But the devil, the enemy of mankind, although conscious that the church was upheld by the Creator and Ruler of the world, could not see her sailing on her course in prosperity without devising plans for overwhelming her.¹ When he perceived that his former artifices had been detected, that the error of idolatry was recognised, and that the greater number of men worshipped the Creator, instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Saviour; but having found some who, though bearing the name of Christians, were yet slaves to ambition and vain-glory, he thought them fit instruments for the execution of his designs. He accordingly used them as the means of drawing others back into error, not indeed by the former artifice of setting up the worship of the creature, but by attempting to bring down the Creator to a level with the creature. I shall now proceed to relate where and by what means he sowed these tares.

Alexandria is a large and populous city, and is considered the metropolis not only of Egypt, but also of the adjacent

¹ He compares the church to a ship, whose helm is directed by God. The comparison is a very favourite one among the Fathers. Among other passages, see St. Augustine on Psal. ciii.

countries, Thebes and Libya. After Peter, the illustrious champion of the faith, had, during the sway of wicked tyrants, obtained the crown of martyrdom, the church of Alexandria was ruled for a short time by Achillas. He was succeeded by Alexander, [A. D. 312,] who was the foremost in defending the doctrines of the gospel. Arius, whose name was then enrolled among the presbytery, and who was intrusted with the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, fell a prey to uncontrollable jealousy, when he saw that all the power of the priesthood was committed to Alexander. Under the influence of this passion, he sought opportunities for dispute and contention ; and, although he perceived that Alexander's conduct was far above the reach of detraction, he could not subdue the envy by which he was tormented. The enemy of truth made use of him to plunge the church into trouble, by exciting him to oppose the apostolical doctrines held by Alexander, who, receiving the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, taught that the Son is equal with the Father, and of the same substance with God who begat him. Arius inveighed in direct terms against this truth, and affirmed that the Son of God is merely a creature or created being, and that there was a time when he had no existence : the other opinions which he advanced may be learned from his own writings.¹ He taught these false doctrines not only in the church, but also in general meetings and assemblies ; and he even went from house to house, endeavouring to draw men over to his sentiments. Alexander, who was strongly attached to the doctrines of the apostles, at first endeavoured by arguments and remonstrances to convince him of his error ; but when he found that he had had the madness to make a public declaration of his impiety, he ejected him from the order of the presbytery, according to the precept of the word of God, " If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee."

CHAP. III.—LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL BISHOPS.

THE church of Rome was at this period ruled by Silvester. His predecessor in the administration was Miltiades,² the suc-

¹ He alludes to the letters of Alexander concerning the condemnation of Arius, addressed to all the bishops.

² Riddle calls him Melchiades.

cessor of that Marcellinus who had so nobly distinguished himself during the persecution. After the death of the tyrant, when peace began to be restored to the churches, Vitalis assumed the chief authority in Antioch, and restored what had been destroyed during the reign of the tyrants. He was succeeded by Philogonius, who completed all that had been omitted in the work of restoration: he had, during the time of Licinius, signalized himself by his zeal for religion. After the administration of Hermon, the government of the church in Jerusalem was committed to Macarius, a man whose name was noble, and whose mind was adorned by every virtue. At this period, Alexander, who had become illustrious by his apostolical gifts, governed the church of Constantinople.

It was at this time that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, perceiving that the ruling passion of Arius was the love of power, and that many were deluded by the blasphemous doctrines propagated by him at private meetings, communicated an account of his heresy by letter to the rulers of the principal churches. That the truth of my statement may not be suspected, I shall now transcribe the letter which he wrote to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, as it contains a clear account of all the facts I have mentioned. I shall subjoin the letter of Arius, and also some other letters which are necessary to the completion of this history, and which are corroborative, as well as explanatory, of what has been already written. The following letter was written by Alexander of Alexandria to the bishop of the same name as himself.

CHAP. IV.—THE EPISTLE OF ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, TO ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

“ALEXANDER sendeth greeting in the Lord to Alexander, the honoured and beloved brother.

“Impelled by avarice and ambition, some evil-minded individuals have formed designs to obtain the highest ecclesiastical preferments. Under various pretexts, they trample upon the religion of the church; and, being instigated by Satanic agency, they abandon all circumspection, and throw off the fear of God’s judgments. Having been made to suffer by them in my own diocese, I write to arouse your caution, that you may be on your guard against them, lest they or any of

their party should presume to enter your diocese. They are skilful in deception, and circulate false and specious letters, calculated to delude the simple and unwary.

“Arius and Achillas have lately formed a conspiracy, and have acted even more culpably than Colluthus, whom they rivalled in ambition. He reprehended their conduct; for he certainly had some pretext to plead in extenuation of his own guilt. When they perceived the gain resulting from his sale of ordinances,¹ they felt unable to remain in subjection to the church; they accordingly constructed caverns, like those of robbers, in which they constantly assemble, and day and night they there invent calumnies against the Saviour, and against us. They revile the religious doctrines of the apostles, and having, like the Jews, conspired against Christ, they deny his Divinity, and declare him to be on a level with other men. They collect all those passages which allude to the incarnation of our Saviour, and to his having humbled himself for our salvation; and bring them forward as corroborative of their own impious assertion, while they evade all those which declare his Divinity, and the glory which he possesses with the Father. They maintain the ungodly hypothesis entertained by the Greeks and the Jews concerning Jesus Christ; and, at the same time, endeavour by every art to ingratiate themselves with those people.

“All those suppositions connected with our religion which have been advanced to excite derision, they represent as true. They daily excite persecutions and seditious against us. They bring accusations against us before judicial tribunals, suborning as witnesses certain unprincipled women whom they have seduced into error.² They dishonour Christianity by permitting young women to ramble about the streets. They have had the audacity to rend the seamless garment of Christ

¹ τὴν ἐκείνου Χριστεμπορείαν. Colluthus, though only a presbyter, had assumed the functions of a bishop, and had ordained many presbyters and deacons. His ordinations, however, were afterwards cancelled in a synod held at Alexandria, as is asserted by St. Athanasius. It would appear from this passage that he was guilty of simony, and that he conferred these orders for money. A similar instance occurs in the case of Ischyas, in Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 27.

² He alludes to “*Libelli accusationum*” which the women of Alexandria were suborned by the Arian party to prefer against Alexander, the orthodox bishop.

which the people dared not divide. When their wicked course of life, which had been carefully concealed, became gradually known to us, we unanimously ejected them from the church which recognises the Divinity of Christ. They then ran hither and thither to form cabals against us; they even repaired to our fellow-ministers who were of one mind with us, and under the pretence of seeking peace and communion with them, they endeavoured, by means of fair words, to delude some among them into their own error. They ask them to write long verbose letters, and then make known the contents to those whom they have deceived, in order that they may not retract, but be confirmed in error by finding that bishops concur in their sentiments. They are careful not to admit before them, that they teach unholy doctrines, and perpetrate infamous actions amongst us, and that they are for this cause excluded from communion with us. These facts they either pass over in silence, or else disguise by false assertions and deceptive arguments.

“They conceal their pernicious doctrines by means of their plausible and persuasive mode of conversation; they thus deceive the unwary, while they never omit calumniating our religion on all occasions. Hence it arises that several have been led to sign their letters, and to receive them into communion. I consider that the conduct of our fellow-ministers, in acting so rashly, is highly reprehensible; for they thus disobey the apostolical canons, and co-operate in the work of the devil against Christ. It is on this account that I make you acquainted without delay, beloved brethren, with the unbelief of certain persons who say, that there was a time when the Son of God had no existence; and that, not having existed from eternity, he must have had a beginning; and that when he was created, he was made like all other men that have ever been born. God, they say, created all things, and they include the Son of God in the number of creatures, both rational and irrational. To argue consistently, they, as a necessary consequence, affirm, that he is by nature liable to change, and capable both of virtue and of vice. Their hypothesis, of his having been created, contradicts the testimony of the Divine Scriptures, which declare the immutability, the Divinity, and the wisdom of the Word, which Word is Christ. ‘We are also able,’ say these evil-minded individuals, ‘to become

like him, the sons of God ; for it is written,—‘I have nourished and brought up children’ (Isa. i. 2). When the continuation of this text is brought before them, which is, ‘and they have rebelled against me,’ and it is objected that these words cannot refer to Christ, whose nature is immutable, they throw aside all reverence, and affirm that God foreknew and foresaw that his Son would not rebel against him, and that he therefore chose him in preference to all others. They likewise assert that he was not elected because he had by nature any qualifications superior to those of the other sons of God ; for God, say they, has not any son by nature, nor, indeed, had he any connexion whatever with him ; they consider that he was elected because, though mutable by nature, he was vigilant and zealous in avoiding evil. They add that if Paul and Peter had made similar efforts, their filiation would in no respects have differed from his.

“To establish this absurd doctrine they pervert the Scriptures, and bring forward that expression in the Psalms, wherein it is said of Christ, ‘Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows’ (Psal. xlv. 7). That the Son of God was not created,¹ and that there never was a time in which he did not exist, is expressly taught by John the evangelist, who spoke of him as ‘the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father’ (John i. 18). This divine teacher desired to show that the Father and the Son are inseparable ; and, therefore, he said, ‘that the Son was in the bosom of the Father.’ But he elsewhere affirms, that the Word of God is not to be classed among created beings ; for he says, that, ‘all things were made by him,’ and he also declares his individual existence in the following words : ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.’ If, then, all things were made by him, how is it that He who thus bestowed existence on all, could at any period have had no existence himself ? The Word who created cannot be of the same nature as the things created. For He was in the beginning, and all things were made by him, and were called by him out of nothing into being : he who is said to have existed before all

¹ Οὔτε ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γέγνηται. See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 8.
[THEODORET.]

things, must differ entirely from those things which were called out of nothing into being. This shows, likewise, that there is no separation between the Father and the Son, and that the idea of separation cannot even be conceived by the mind. The fact that the world was created out of nothing, shows that its creation is comparatively recent ; for by the Father through the Son did all things which it contains receive their being. John, the pious apostle, perceiving the greatness of the Word of God above all created beings, could find no terms adequate to convey this truth, neither did he presume to apply the same epithet to the Maker as to the creature.¹ The Son of God is not unbegotten, for the Father alone is unbegotten ; but the manner in which the Son was begotten of God is inexplicable, and beyond the comprehension of the evangelist, and perhaps of angels. Therefore, I think that those should not be considered pious who presume to investigate this subject in disobedience to the injunction, ' Seek not what is too difficult for thee, neither inquire into what is too high for thee ' (Ecclus. iii. 21). The knowledge of many things incomparably inferior is beyond the capacity of the human mind, and cannot therefore be attained. It has been said by Paul, ' Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him ' (1 Cor. ii. 9). God also said to Abraham, that ' the stars could not be numbered by him ; ' and it is likewise said, ' Who shall number the grains of sand by the sea-shore, or the drops of rain ? ' (Ecclus. i. 2.) How then can any one, unless indeed his intellect be deranged, presume to inquire into the nature of the Word of God ? It is said by the Spirit of prophecy, ' Who shall declare his generation ? ' (Isa. liii. 8). And, therefore, our Saviour, in order to benefit those who were as the columns of all the churches established in the world, delivered them from the trouble of striving after this knowledge, by telling them that it was beyond their comprehension, and that the Father alone could discern the Divine mystery ; ' No

¹ The meaning of this difficult passage, according to Valesius, is this : St. John the evangelist, in speaking of the Son of God, took great care to use with respect to Him a different term from that which he applied to created beings. For of the Son he says, "*Verbum erat apud Deum.*" (ῥῆν) But with respect to created beings he uses the expression "*facta sunt.*" (ἐγένετο.)

man,' said he, 'knoweth the Son but the Father, and no man knoweth the Father save the Son' (Matt. xi. 27).

"It was, I think, concerning this same subject that the Father said, 'My secret is for me and for mine.' It is evidently folly to imagine that the Son of God was created, and that he has only a temporary existence, although the senseless multitude who admit this hypothesis are incapable of perceiving its absurdity. For their assertion that he did not exist, must have reference to some determinate point of time, or to some particular period within the lapse of ages. If then it be true that all things were made by him, it is evident that all ages, time, all intervals of time, and all other periods comprehended within these terms, in which he is said not to have existed, were made by him. And is it not absurd to say that *He* did not at one period exist, who created all time, and ages, and seasons, within which the period in which he did not exist must necessarily be included? For it would be the height of ignorance, and contrary indeed to all reason, to affirm that any created thing whatever can be antecedent to its cause. The space of time during which they say the Son was still unbegotten of the Father was, according to their opinion, prior to the wisdom of God, by whom all things were created. They thus contradict those Scriptures which declare him to be the first-born of every creature. Conformable to this doctrine is the language of Paul, who has thus written concerning him; 'whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds' (Heb. i. 2). 'For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things' (Col. i. 16, 17). Since the hypothesis we have just examined is manifestly impious, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Father is always the Father. The Father is the Father because he has a Son; hence it is that he is called a Father. Having a Son, he is perfectly a Father, nothing being wanted to complete the relation. He did not beget his only Son in time, or in any period of time, or in any thing that had previous existence.

"Is it not impiety to say that the wisdom of God was at one period not in existence? for it is written, "I was with Him being joined to Him, I was his delight' (Prov. viii.).

Has not the power of God always subsisted? Was the Word of God ever separated from God? or, can anything else be advanced by which the Son can be known, or the Father designated? If the reflection of the light should disappear, it is evident that its disappearance can only arise from the light itself being extinguished; so if there ever was a time in which the image of God did not exist, then God himself could not have existed. The supposition that the likeness of God does not exist implies that God himself has no existence, for the likeness is the exact reflection of himself. Hence it may be seen that the Sonship of our Saviour has nothing in common with the sonship of men. For if, as it has been shown, the nature of his existence cannot be expressed by language, and infinitely surpasses in excellence all things to which he has given being, so, his Sonship, being Divine, is unspeakably different from the sonship of those whom it has been His will to adopt as children. He is by nature immutable, perfect, and all-sufficient, whereas men are liable to change, and need His help. What further progression can be made by the wisdom of God? What can be added to his truth, or to his word? What augmentation of power can be given to life itself, or to the true light? And is it not still more contrary to nature to suppose that wisdom can be susceptible of folly? that the power of God can be converted into weakness? that reason itself can be rendered void by folly, or that darkness can be mixed with the true light? Does not the Apostle remark on this subject, 'What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?' (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15); and Solomon said, that he could not comprehend 'the way of a serpent upon a rock,' (Prov. xxx. 19,) which according to St. Paul is Christ. Men and angels, who are his creatures, have received his blessing, enabling them to grow in virtue, in obedience to his commands, and in the power of avoiding sin.¹ And it is on this account that our Lord, being by nature the Son of the Father, is worshipped by all. They having been delivered from the spirit of bondage, receive the

¹ Valesius observes that there is a difficulty in admitting that these two gifts of God have respect to the angels as well as to man. For the former are incapable of growth or diminution. He solves it, however, by referring it to the condition of the angels before they rebelled and fell from their high estate, when they were capable of virtue and vice, and of an increase or decrease in either.

spirit of adoption by means of progressing in virtue ; and, according to the will of Him who is the Son of God by nature, they also became sons. His true and divine Sonship is expressly declared by Paul, who speaking of God says, that ‘ he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us, who are not by nature his sons ’ (Rom. viii. 32). It was to distinguish him from those who are not his own, that he called him his own Son. It is also written in the Gospel, ‘ This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased ’ (Matt. iii. 17) ; and in the Psalms it is written that the Saviour said, ‘ The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son ’ (Psal. ii. 7).

“ By showing that he is the true and legitimate Son, it follows that there can be no other sons besides himself. But what can these words signify, ‘ I conceived thee in my bosom before the star of morn,’ unless they are meant to show that he was born according to the course of nature of the Father, not on account of superior natural endowments, or of acquired excellence, but simply according to the operations of nature ? Hence it ensues that the filiation of the only begotten Son is immutable ; while those who are not his children by nature, but who stand in that relation merely on account of their fitness as to character, and by the bounty of God, may fall away, as it is written in the word, ‘ The sons of God saw the daughters of men, and took them as wives,’ and so forth (Gen. vi. 2). And God, speaking by Isaiah, said, ‘ I have begotten and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me ’ (Isa. i. 2). I might add many other things, dear brethren, but I fear that I shall cause weariness by admonishing those who are already well instructed, and who are of one mind with myself. You, having been taught of God, cannot be ignorant that the heresy against the religion of the Church which has just arisen, is the same as that propagated by Ebion and Artemas, and that it resembles that of Paul of Samosata,¹ bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by a council of all the bishops. Lucius,² his successor, remained during three years out of communion with three bishops.

¹ Paul of Samosata was condemned at the Council of Antioch, A. D. 265.

² Or Lucianus. Baronius, in his Annals, A. D. 318, acquits him of the charge of favouring the Arian heresy. By ἀποσυναγωγός, here rendered

"Those amongst us who have imbibed their impious principles, and who now affirm that the Son did not at one period exist, may be regarded as scions of the same stock: I allude to Arius and Achillas, and to those who follow them. Three bishops in Syria,¹ ordained no one knows how, side with them, and excite them to plunge deeper and deeper into iniquity. I refer their sentence to your decision. They commit to memory all that they can collect concerning the suffering, humiliation, debasement, and sorrows of our Saviour, which he underwent for our salvation: they pervert those passages to disprove his eternal existence and Divinity, while they reject all those which declare his glory and union with the Father; as for instance, the following words, 'My Father and I are one' (John x. 30). The Lord did not proclaim himself to be the Father, neither did he represent two persons as one; but he intended to show that the Son exactly resembles his Father, and is his true and perfect likeness. When, therefore, Philip, desirous of seeing the Father, said to him, 'Lord, show us the Father,' he said to him, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,' that is to say, hath seen the Divine image reflected, as in a pure and living mirror of the Divine nature; because he has seen the Father reflected in the Son. The same idea is conveyed in the Psalms, where the saints exclaim, 'In thy light we shall see light' (Psal. xxxv.). It is on this account that he who honoureth the Son, honoureth the Father. Every impious word which men dare to utter against the Son, is spoken also against the Father.

"After this no one can wonder at the false calumnies which, my beloved brethren, they propagate against me, and against our religious people. They not only deny the Divinity of Christ, but bring injurious charges against us. They cannot endure to be compared with the ancients, nor with the doctors who instructed us in our youth. They will not admit that any of our fellow-ministers possess even mediocrity of intelligence. They say that they themselves alone are wise and destitute of property; and that they alone are in possession

"out of communion," we must not understand that he was positively expelled from the church, but that he held schismatical assemblies.

¹ He alludes to Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Paulinus of Tyre.

of the true doctrines, which, say they, have never entered the mind of any other individuals under heaven. Oh what wicked arrogance ! Oh what excessive folly ! What false boasting, and melancholy delusion, joined to Satanic pride, retain dominion over their evil minds ! They are not ashamed to oppose the perspicuous declaration of ancient and godly books, nor the unanimous decision of all our fellow ministers concerning the worship of Christ, which they have the audacity to oppose. Even devils are not guilty of impiety like this ; for even they refrain from speaking blasphemy against the Son of God. These then were the subjects I had to argue, according to the ability I possess, with those uninstructed individuals who dishonour Christ with their ignorant discourse,¹ and bring forward calumnies against our religion. These foolish people pretend that we who have rejected their impious and unscriptural blasphemy concerning the creation of Christ, have done so with the design of teaching that there are two unbegotten beings. For these ignorant persons contend that one of these two things must necessarily be true ; either that Christ was created, or that there are two unbegotten beings. They are unable to comprehend that there is a vast distance between the Father who is uncreate, and the creatures, whether rational or irrational, which he created ; and that the only begotten nature of him who is the Word of God stands, as it were, in the middle between the two, God having by him formed the creatures. The Father begat him ; and it was of this that Christ testified when he said, ‘ Every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him ’ (1 John v. 1).

“ We believe, as is taught by the apostolical church, in the only unbegotten Father, who is the Author of his own existence, who is immutable and invariable, and who subsists always in one state of being, which admits neither of progression nor of diminution ; who gave the law, and the prophecies, and the gospel ; who is the Lord of patriarchs and apostles, and of all saints : and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten, not out of what had no previous existence, but begotten of his Father, yet not after

¹ ἀπαιδεύτῳ ὕλῃ. He alludes to the sophistical arguments used by the Arians to disprove the Divinity of Christ. Some editions read ὑλάκη, “ with ignorant bayings,” like dogs.

the manner of material bodies, by cutting, dividing, or wrenching, as Sabellius and Valentinus taught. He was begotten in an inexpressible and inexplicable manner, according to the saying which we quoted above, 'Who shall declare his generation?' No mortal intellect can comprehend the nature of his existence;¹ just as the Father cannot be known; neither can the manner in which he was begotten of the Father be understood by any one. But those who are led by the Spirit of truth have no need to learn these things of me, for the words long since spoken by the Saviour yet sound upon our ears, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father.' We have learnt that the Son is immutable and unchangeable, all-sufficient and perfect, like the Father, differing only in this one respect, that the Father is unbegotten. He is the exact image of his Father. Everything is found in the image which exists in its archetype; and it was this that our Lord taught when he said, 'My Father is greater than I.' And accordingly we believe that the Son proceeded from the Father; for he is the reflection of the glory of the Father, and the figure of his substance. But let no one be led from this to the supposition that the Son is unbegotten, as is believed by some who are deficient in intellectual power: for to say that he was, that he has always been, and that he existed before all ages, is not to say that he is unbegotten.

"The mind of man could not possibly invent a term expressive of what is meant by being unbegotten. I believe that you are of this opinion; and, indeed, I feel confident that you all take an orthodox view of this subject. For all the terms that have been devised appear to signify merely the production of time, but they are not adequate to express the Divinity and, as it were, the priority of the only begotten Son. They were used by the holy men who vainly endeavoured to clear up the mystery, and who pleaded a very reasonable apology for their failure, by informing their audiences that the subject was beyond their powers. If any one should say that knowledge in part² is abolished, and that words beyond the comprehension of man can be pronounced by human lips, it might clearly be

¹ Ὑπόστασις. See note on Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 5.

² Theodoret here is probably alluding to St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xiii.,

"We know in part, and we prophesy in part."

proved that this expectation is far from being borne out by the following expressions, 'He who was, and who is, and who was before all ages.' And this has not the same signification as unbegotten. Therefore is honour due to the Father, as being the Author of his own existence : to the Son likewise must be given the glory which is due to him, he having been begotten of the Father from the beginning ; therefore he must be worshipped. In speaking of him it must only be said that he was, and that he is, and that he has been from all ages. Let us not deny his Divinity, but ascribe to him a perfect and unerring resemblance to his Father. Let us testify that the Father alone is unbegotten, inasmuch as the Saviour says, 'My Father is greater than I' (John xiv. 28).

"Besides entertaining this pious opinion respecting the Father and the Son, we confess, according to the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, the existence of the Holy Ghost, which truth has been upheld by the saints of the Old Testament, and by the learned divines of the New. We believe in one catholic and apostolical church, which cannot be destroyed even though all the world were to fight against it, and which never fails to defeat all the impious designs of heretics ; for it is emboldened by the words of the Spouse, who said, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world' (John xvi. 33). Besides this, we receive the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, of which Jesus Christ our Lord became the first-fruits. He possessed a true, not a supposititious body, he derived it from Mary the mother of God ; for in the fulness of time he assumed the nature of man, for the remission of sins : he was crucified and died, yet his Godhead suffered no diminution. He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. In this epistle, I have only mentioned these things in a cursory manner. It would, I fear, be wearisome to you, who are already so well instructed, if I were to dwell more fully on each topic. These things we teach, these things we preach ; they constitute the doctrine of the apostolic church, for which we are ready to die : and little can be effected by those who would compel us by force to renounce them ; for we will never relinquish our hope, even though we should be made to suffer tortures. Arius and Achillas, and also all those who join them in opposing the truth, have been expelled from the church, because

they reject our pious doctrines : for the blessed Paul said, 'If any of you preach any other gospel than that which you have received, let him be accursed, even though he should pretend to be an angel from heaven' (Gal. i. 8). 'But if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is prond, knowing nothing,' (1 Tim. vi. 3, 4,) and so forth. Since, then, they¹ have been condemned by the brethren, let none of you receive them, nor attend to what they say or write. They are deceivers, and propagate lies, and they never adhere to the truth. They go about to different cities with no other intent than to deliver letters under the pretext of friendship and the name of peace, and by hypocrisy and flattery to obtain other letters in return, in order to deceive a few foolish women, who are laden with sins. I beseech you, beloved brethren, to avoid those who have thus dared to act against Christ, who have publicly vilified the Christian religion, who have brought its professors before judicial tribunals, who have endeavoured to excite a persecution against us at a period of the most entire peace, and who have cast contempt on the unspeakable mystery of the generation of Christ. Unite unanimously in opposition to them, as some of our fellow-ministers have already done, who, being filled with indignation, wrote to me about them, and signed the formulary.

"I have sent you these signatures by my son Apion, the deacon ; they are the signatures of the ministers in all Egypt and in Thebes, also of those in Libya, Pentapolis, Syria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and in the other adjoining countries. You likewise must follow this example. Many attempts have been made by me to gain back those who have been led astray, and to discover the means of restoring the people who have been deceived by them ; and I have found none more persuasive in leading them to repentance, than the manifestation of the union of our fellow-ministers. Salute one another, my brethren. I pray that you may be blessed by the Lord, my beloved, and that I may receive the fruit of your prayers, and of your love to Christ.

¹ These words must be referred to Arius, Achillas, and their followers and adherents, including the bishops of Cæsarea, Tyre, and Laodicea, above mentioned.

“The following are the names of those who have been excommunicated : among the presbyters, Arius ; among the deacons, Achillas, Euzoius, Aithalis, Lucius, Sarmatis, Julius, Menas, another Arius, and Helladius.”

Alexander wrote in the same strain to Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, to Eustathius, who then ruled the church of the Bereans, and to all those who defended the doctrines of the Apostles. But Arius could not quietly acquiesce in this : he therefore wrote to all those whom he thought were of his sentiments. In his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, Arius confesses that the holy Alexander wrote nothing that was false. I shall here insert his letter, in order that the names of those who were implicated in his impiety may become generally known.

CHAP. V.—THE LETTER OF ARIUS TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA.

“ARIUS, unjustly persecuted by the Pope Alexander, on account of that all-conquering truth which you also uphold, sendeth greeting in the Lord to his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius.

“Ammonius, my father, being about to depart for Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, and withal to address myself to that natural affection which you bear towards the brethren for the sake of God and of Christ, apprizing you that the bishop oppresses and persecutes us most severely, and that he causes us much suffering : he has driven us out of the city as atheists, because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, namely, that the Father has always been, and that the Son has always been : that as the Father so is the Son ; that the Son is unbegotten as the Father ; that he is always being begotten, without having been begotten ; that neither by thought nor by any interval does God precede the Son, God and the Son having always been ; and that the Son proceeds from God. Eusebius, your brother bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotius, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, Aetius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned¹ because they say that God had an existence prior to

¹ We need not understand that they had been formally anathematized,

that of his Son; except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and who have embraced heretical opinions. One of them says that the Son is an effusion, another that he is an emission, the other that he is also unbegotten. These are impieties to which we could not listen, even though the heretics should threaten us with a thousand deaths. But we say and believe, and have taught, and do teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any way unbegotten, even in part; and that he does not derive his subsistence from any matter; but that by his own will and counsel he has subsisted before time, and before ages, as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable, and that he existed not before he was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established.¹ For he was not unbegotten. We are persecuted, because we say that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without beginning. This is really the cause of our persecution, and likewise, because we say that he is from nothing (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔστιν*). And this we say, because he is neither part of God, nor of any subjacent matter. For this are we persecuted; the rest you know. Farewell. As a disciple of Lucian, and as a truly pious man according to the import of your name, remember our afflictions."

Of those whose names are mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotius was bishop of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berea, and Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Diospolis. Arius boasted that these were all of one mind with himself. He names as his adversaries Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, Hellanicus, bishop of Tripoli, and Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. He spread calumnies against them because they said that the Son is eternal, existing before all ages, equal with the Father, and of the same substance.

When Eusebius received the epistle, he detected the impiety of the sentiments therein expressed, and wrote to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, in the following words.

but that their condemnation was implicitly contained in that of Arius and his adherents.

¹ This sentiment was condemned in the anathemas subjoined to the Nicene Creed. See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 9.

CHAP. VI.—THE LETTER OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA,
TO PAULINUS, BISHOP OF TYRE.

“To my lord Paulinus, Eusebius sendeth greeting in the Lord.

“The zeal of my lord Paulinus, and likewise his silence concerning the truth, have not failed to reach our ears. If, on the one hand, we have rejoiced on account of the zeal of my lord, on the other we have grieved, because the silence of such a man appears like the condemnation of our cause. Hence, as it behoves not a wise man to be of a different opinion from others, and yet to be silent concerning the truth, I exhort you to stir up within yourself the spirit of wisdom, that you may be able to write what may be profitable to yourself and to others; which will certainly be the case, if you will examine the Holy Scriptures, and follow them in your writings. We have never heard that there are two unbegotten beings, nor that one has been divided into two. We have neither been taught, my lord, nor do we believe that the Divinity has ever undergone any change of a temporal nature; but we affirm that there is one who is unbegotten, and that there also exists another who did in truth proceed from him, yet who was not made out of his substance, and who does not at all participate in the nature or substance of him who is unbegotten. We believe him to be entirely distinct in nature and in power, and yet to be a perfect likeness, in character and in power, of him from whom he originated. We believe that the mode of his beginning cannot be expressed by any words; and that it is incomprehensible not only to man, but also to orders of beings superior to man. These opinions we advance, not as having derived them from our own imagination, but as having deduced them from Scripture, whence we learn that the Son was created, established, and begotten in the same substance and in the same immutable and inexpressible nature as the Maker; and so the Lord says, ‘God created me in the beginning of his way; I was set up from everlasting; before the hills was I brought forth’ (Prov. viii. 22—26). If he had proceeded from him or of him, as a portion of him, or by an efflux of his substance,¹ it could not be said that he was created or established; and of this you, my lord, are cer-

¹ Ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς οὐσίας.

tainly not ignorant. For that which proceeds from Him who is unbegotten cannot be said to have been created or founded, either by him or by another, since he has been begotten from the beginning. But if any one should hold that he was born of the substance and nature of the Father, because he said that he was begotten, we would reply that it is not of him alone that the Scriptures have spoken as begotten, but that they also thus speak of those who are entirely dissimilar to him by nature. For of men it is said, 'I have begotten and brought up sons, and they have rebelled against me' (Isa. i. 2); and in another place, 'Thou hast forsaken God who begat thee;' and again it is said, 'Who begat the drops of dew?' (Job xxxviii. 28). This expression does not imply that the dew partakes of the nature of God, but simply that all things were formed according to his will. There is indeed nothing which partakes of his substance, yet everything which exists has been called into being by his will, for he verily is God. All things were made in his likeness, and in the future likeness of his Son, being created according to his will. All things were made by the Son and through God. All things are of God.

"When you have received my letter, and have revised it according to the knowledge and grace given you by God, I beg you will write as soon as possible to my lord Alexander. I feel confident that if you will write to him, you will succeed in bringing him over to your opinion. Salute all the brethren in the Lord. May you, my lord, be preserved by the grace of God, and be led to pray for us."

It is thus that they write to each other, in order to furnish one another with weapons against the truth.¹ When blasphemous doctrines became disseminated in the churches of Egypt and of the East, disputes and contentions arose in every city, and in every village, concerning theological dogmas. The common people were witnesses of these controversies, and judges of what was said on either side, and some applauded one party, and some the other. These were, indeed, melancholy scenes, over which tears might have been shed. For it was not as in bygone ages, when the church was attacked by strangers and by enemies. During this period, those who were natives of the same country, who had dwelt under one roof, and had sat down at one table, fought against each other

¹ Arius first published his heresy, A. D. 319.

with their tongues, instead of with spears. And, moreover, they who thus took up arms against one another, were members of each other, and belonged to one body.

CHAP. VII.—GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICE.

THE emperor, who possessed the most profound wisdom, had no sooner heard of the troubles of the church, than he endeavoured to put an end to them. He therefore despatched a messenger¹ of considerable sagacity to Alexandria with letters, believing that he would be able to put an end to the dispute, and reconcile the disputants. But his hopes were frustrated by the result of this undertaking ; and he, therefore, proceeded to summon the celebrated Council of Nice ; and commanded that the bishops, and those connected with them, should be mounted on the asses, mules, and horses belonging to the public, in order to repair thither. When all those who were capable of enduring the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nice, he went thither himself, as much from the wish of seeing the bishops, as from the desire of preserving unanimity amongst them. He arranged that all their wants should be liberally supplied. Three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled. The bishop of Rome, on account of his very advanced age, was necessarily absent, but he sent two presbyters to the council, for the purpose of taking part in all the transactions. At this period, individuals were richly endowed with apostolical gifts ; and many, like the holy apostle, bore in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ. James, bishop of Antioch, a city of Mygdonia, which is called Nisibis by the Syrians and Assyrians, had power to raise the dead, and to restore them to life ; he performed many wonderful miracles, which it would be superfluous to mention in detail in this history, as I have already given an account of this in my work, entitled Philotheus. Paul, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, a fortress situated on the banks of the Euphrates, had suffered much from the cruelty of Licinius. He had been deprived of the use of both hands by the application of a red-hot iron, by which the nerves which give motion to the muscles had been contracted and destroyed. Some had had the

¹ This was Hosius, the bishop of Cordova. See Euseb. Life of Const. iii. 7 ; Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 7 ; and Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. i. 16.

right eye torn out, others had lost the right arm. Among the the latter sufferers was Paphnutius of Egypt. In short, this was an assembly of martyrs. Yet this holy and celebrated assembly was not free from those of a contentious spirit; there were certainly few of this class; yet they were as dangerous as sunken rocks, for they concealed the evil, while they profanely coincided in the blasphemy of Arius. When they were all assembled, the emperor ordered a large apartment¹ to be prepared for their accommodation in the palace, in which a sufficient number of seats were placed; and here the bishops were summoned to hold their deliberations upon the proposed subjects. The emperor, attended by a few followers, was the last to enter the room: his personal beauty attracted much admiration, which was increased by his extreme modesty. A low stool was placed for him in the middle of the assembly, upon which, however, he did not seat himself until he had asked the permission of the bishops; and they all then sat down around him. The great Eustathius,² bishop of Antioch, who, upon the death of Philogonius, already referred to, had been appointed his successor by the unanimous suffrages of the priests and of the people, and of believers, was the first to speak. He pronounced a panegyric upon the emperor, and commended the diligent attention he had manifested in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. At the close of this speech, the excellent emperor exhorted them to unanimity and concord; he recalled to their remembrance the cruelty of the late tyrants, and reminded them of the honourable peace which God had, at this period and by his means, accorded them. And he remarked, how very grievous it was, that at the very time when their enemies were destroyed, and when no one dared to molest them, that they should fall upon one another, and afford matter for diversion and ridicule to their adversaries, while they were debating about holy things which ought to be determined by the written word, indited by the Holy Spirit, which they possessed. "For the gospel," (continued he,) "the apostolical writings, and the ancient prophecies clearly

¹ Valesius remarks that Theodoret has taken this from Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 10.

² See Euseb., *Life of Constantine*, iii. 11. Theodoret is probably mistaken in saying that Eustathius was the immediate successor of Philogonius, as other writers place between them a bishop named Paulinus.

teach us what we are to believe concerning the Divine nature. Let then all contentious disputation be set aside ; and let us seek in the divinely inspired word the solution of all doubtful topics." These and similar exhortations he, like an affectionate son, addressed to the bishops as to fathers, desiring their accordance in the apostolical doctrines. Most of those present were won over by his arguments, established concord among themselves, and embraced sound doctrine. There were, however, a few, of whom mention has been already made, who opposed these doctrines, and sided with Arius ; and amongst them were Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolitanus, Theognis, bishop of Nice, and Narcissus, bishop of Neroniadis, which is a town of the second Cilicia, and is now called Irenopolis ; also Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt. They drew up a declaration of their creed, and presented it to the council. Instead of being recognised, it was torn to pieces, and was declared to be spurious and false. So great was the uproar raised against them, and so many were the reproaches cast on them for having betrayed religion, that they all, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, stood up and excommunicated Arius. This impious man, having thus been expelled from the church, a confession of faith which is received to this day was drawn up by unanimous consent : and as soon as it was signed, the council was dissolved. The bishops above-mentioned, however, did not consent to it in sincerity, but only in appearance. This was evidenced afterwards by their plotting against those who were foremost in zeal for religion, as well as by what these latter have written about them. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who has been already mentioned, when explaining a portion of the Proverbs, " God created me in the beginning of his ways, before his works," wrote against them, and refuted their blasphemy.

CHAP. VIII.—CONFUTATION OF ARIANISM DEDUCED FROM
THE WRITINGS OF EUSTATHIUS AND ATHANASIUS.

I NOW proceed to relate how these different events occurred. A general council was summoned at Nice, and upwards of two hundred and seventy bishops were convened. There

[THEODORET.]

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were, however, so many assembled that I cannot state their exact number, neither, indeed, did I make any endeavour to ascertain this point. When they began to inquire into the nature of the faith, the formulary¹ of Eusebius was brought forward, which contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy. The reading of it occasioned great grief to the audience, on account of the depravity of the doctrines; and the writer was covered with shame. After the guilt of the partisans of Eusebius had been clearly proved, and the impious writing torn up in the sight of all, some amongst them, under the pretence of preserving peace, imposed silence on those who usually manifested superior powers of eloquence. The Arians, fearing lest they should be ejected² from the church by so numerous a council of bishops, proceeded at once to condemn the doctrines objected to, and unanimously signed the confession of faith. They contrived, however, to retain their principal dignities,³ although they ought rather to have experienced humiliation. Sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, they continued to vindicate the condemned doctrines, and brought forth various arguments in proof of them. Wholly bent upon establishing these false opinions, they shrunk from the scrutiny of learned men, and, indeed, of all who are capable of investigation; and they manifested great animosity against professors of religion: but we do not believe that these atheists can overcome God. Whatever may be their efforts, they must ultimately fail in their purpose, according to the solemn prophecy of Isaiah.

These things were written by the great Eustathius. Athanasius, who was equally zealous in the course of religion, and who was the successor in the ministry of the celebrated Alexander, communicated the following intelligence in the letter addressed to the Africans.

The bishops being convened to the council, were desirous of refuting the impious assertions of the Arians, that the Son was created out of nothing, (Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων,) that he is a creature and created being, (Κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα,) that there was a

¹ That, namely, which Eusebius Pamphilus confesses that he put forth in his letter to the people of Cæsarea.

² Literally, "lest they should be ostracised," μη ἐξοστρακισθεῖν.

³ Namely, their bishoprics, which they were enabled to hold in spite of the orthodox party, by reason of the favour with which they were regarded by the emperor and the court.

period in which he did not exist, (*Ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν,*) and that he is mutable by nature. They all agreed in propounding the following declarations, which are in accordance with the Holy Scriptures: namely, that the Son is by nature the only begotten Son of God, the Word, the Power, and the Wisdom of the Father; that he is, as John said, “very God,” and, as Paul has written, “the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the person of the Father” (Heb. i. 3). The followers of Eusebius, who were led astray by evil doctrines, then assembled for deliberation, and came to the following conclusions:—

“We are also of God. There is but one God, of whom are all things (1 Cor. vi. 8); old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God” (2 Cor. v. 17, 18). They also dwelt particularly upon the following doctrine contained in the Book of the Pastor: “Believe above all that there is one God, who created and restored all things, calling them from nothing into being.” But the bishops saw through their evil design and impious artifice, and gave a clearer elucidation of these words, by explaining them as referring to God, and wrote that the Son of God is of the substance of God; so that while the creatures which do not in any way derive their existence of or from themselves, are said to be of God: the Son alone is said to be of the substance of the Father; this being peculiar to the only begotten Son, the true Word of the Father. This is the reason why the bishops were led to write, that he is of the substance of the Father. The Arians, who seemed few in number, were again interrogated as to whether they would admit the following points of doctrine: “that the Son is not a creature, but the Power, and the Wisdom, and likewise the Image of the Father; that he is eternal, in no respects differing from the Father, and that he is very God.” It was remarked, that the Eusebians signified to each other by signs, that these declarations were equally applicable to us; for it is said, that we are the image and the glory of God; this is said of us because we are living beings: there are (to pursue their train of argument) many powers; for it is written—“All the powers of God went out of the land of Egypt” (Exod. xii. 41). The canker-worm and the locust are said to be great powers (Joel ii. 25). And elsewhere it is written, “The God of powers

is with us, the God of Jacob is our helper :” for we are not merely children of God, but the Son also calls us brethren. Their saying that Christ is God in truth, gives us no uneasiness : for he was true, and he is true. The Arians made false deductions ; but the bishops, having detected their deceitfulness in this matter, collected from Scripture those passages which say of Christ that He is the glory, the fountain, the stream, and the figure of the substance ; and they quoted the following words : “ In thy light we shall see light ;” and likewise, “ I and the Father are one.” They then clearly and briefly confessed that the Father and the Son are of the same substance ; for this, indeed, is the signification of the passages which have been mentioned. The complaint of the Arians, that these precise words are not to be found in Scripture, is a vain argument ; and it may besides be objected to them, that their impious assertions are not taken from Scripture ; for it is not written, that the Son was created, and that there was a period in which he did not exist : and also, that they themselves complain of having been condemned for using expressions which, though certainly not scriptural, are yet, they say, consonant with religion. They drew words from the dunghill, and published them upon earth. The bishops, on the contrary, did not invent any expressions themselves ; but, having received the testimony of the fathers, they wrote accordingly. Indeed, formerly, as far back as about one hundred and thirty years, the bishops of the great city of Rome, and of our city,¹ disproved the assertion, that the Son is a creature, and that he is not of the substance of the Father. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, is acquainted with these facts : he, at one time, favoured the Arian heresy ; but he afterwards signed the confession of faith of the Council of Nice. He wrote² to inform his diocesans, that the word “ consubstantial ” is found in certain ancient documents, and is used by illustrious bishops and learned writers as a term for expressing the Divinity of the Father and of the Son.

Some of the bishops, who had carefully concealed their obnoxious opinions, consented to coincide with the council when

¹ Constantinople. He alludes to Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, and (in the opinion of Valesius) to Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, who had each formally condemned the Arian formulary.

² See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 8.

they perceived that it was very strong in point of numbers ; and thus did they draw upon themselves the condemnation of the prophet, "God the Creator of all cried unto them, This people honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart far from me" (Isa. xxix. 13). Theonas and Secundus, not choosing to dissimulate in the same way, were excommunicated by one consent as those who esteemed the Arian blasphemy above evangelical doctrines. The bishops then returned to the council, and drew up twenty laws to regulate the discipline of the church.

CHAP. IX.—FACTS RELATING TO MELITIUS THE EGYPTIAN, FROM WHOM ORIGINATED THE MELITIAN SCHISMS, WHICH REMAIN TO THIS DAY.—SYNODICAL EPISTLE RESPECTING HIM.

AFTER Melitius had been ordained bishop, which was not long before the Arian controversy, he was convicted of impiety by the most holy Peter, bishop and martyr of Alexandria, and was deposed by him.¹ But he did not acquiesce in his deposition, but excited troubles and commotions in Thebes and in the countries round Egypt, and sought the chief power in Alexandria. A letter was written to the church of Alexandria, stating what had been decreed against these innovations. It was as follows :—

SYNODICAL EPISTLE.

"To the church of Alexandria which, by the grace of God, is great and holy, and to the beloved brethren in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, the bishops who have been convened to the great and holy council of Nice, send greeting in the Lord.

"The great and holy council of Nice having been convened by the grace of God, and by the appointment of the most religious emperor, Constantine, who summoned us from different provinces and cities, we judge it requisite to inform you by letter what we have debated and examined, decreed and established. In the first place, the impious perverseness of Arius was investigated before our most religious emperor, Constantine. His impiety was unanimously condemned, as well as the blasphemous sentiments which he had propounded for the purpose of dishonouring the Son of God, alleging that

¹ Melitius first propagated his heresy A. D. 306, and was deposed the same year.

He was created, that before he was made he existed not, that there was a period in which he had no existence, and that he can, according to his own free-will, be capable either of virtue or of vice. The holy council condemned all these assertions, and impatiently refused to listen to such impious and foolish opinions, and such blasphemous expressions. The final decision concerning him you already know, or will soon hear ; but we will not mention it now, lest we should appear to trample upon a man who has already received the recompence due to his sins. Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais, have, however, been led astray by his impiety, and have received the same sentence. But after we had, by the grace of God, been delivered from these false and blasphemous opinions, and from those persons who dared to raise discord and division among a once peaceable people ; there yet remained the temerity of Melitius, and of those ordained by him. We shall now inform you, beloved brethren, of the decrees of the council on this subject. It was decided by the holy council that Melitius should be treated with clemency, though, strictly speaking, he was not worthy of the least concession. He was permitted to remain in his own city, but was divested of all power, whether of nomination or of ordination, neither was he to exercise these functions in any province or city : he only retained the mere title and the honour of the episcopal office. Those who had received ordination at his hands, were to submit to a more holy reordination ;¹ they were to be admitted to communion, and were to receive the honour of the ministry ; but in every diocese and church they were to be accounted inferior to those who were ordained before them by Alexander, our much-honoured fellow-minister. It was decreed that they should not elect or nominate, or indeed do anything without the consent of the bishops of the catholic and apostolical church, who are under Alexander. But those who, by the grace of God, and in answer to prayer, have been preserved from schism,

¹ *μυστικωτέρα χειροτονία*. Compare Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 9. Valesius very correctly argues against the view which would interpret the word *χειροτονία* as merely the ecclesiastical benediction, and not what he calls "Sacramentum ordinis." By the 6th Canon of the council of Nice it was ordained that the consecration of bishops without the consent of their metropolitans was void and the Melitian bishops had been consecrated without the consent of Alexander, who was the metropolitan of Egypt.

and have continued blameless in the catholic and apostolic church, are to have the power of electing, and of nominating those who are worthy of the clerical office, and are permitted to do everything that accords with law and the authority of the church. If it should happen, that any of those now holding an office in the church should die, then let those recently admitted be advanced to the honours of the deceased, provided only that they appear worthy, and that the people choose them, and that the election be confirmed and ratified by the catholic bishop of Alexandria. The same privilege has been conceded to all the others. With respect to Melitius, however, an exception has been made, both on account of his former insubordination, and of the rashness and impetuosity of his disposition ; for if the least authority were accorded to him, he might abuse it by again exciting confusion. These are the things which relate to Egypt, and to the holy church of Alexandria. If any other resolutions were carried, you will hear of them from Alexander, our most honoured fellow-minister and brother, who will give you still more accurate information, because he himself directed, as well as participated in, everything that took place. We must also apprise you, that, according to your prayers, we were all of one mind respecting the most holy paschal feast, so that our brethren of the East, who did not previously celebrate the festival as the Romans, and as you, and, indeed, as all have done from the beginning, will henceforth celebrate it with you. Rejoice, then, in the success of our undertakings, and in the general peace and concord, and in the extirpation of every schism ; and receive with the greatest honour and the most fervent love Alexander, our fellow-minister and your bishop, who imparted joy to us by his presence, and who, at a very advanced period of life, has undergone so much fatigue for the purpose of restoring peace among you. Pray for us all, that what we have equitably decreed may remain steadfast, through our Lord Jesus Christ, being done, as we trust, according to the good will of God and the Father in the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

THE CON-SUBSTANTIAL AND ETERNAL TRINITY.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of that divine assembly of bishops to suppress the unsound theories of Melitius, vestiges of his infatuation remain to this day ; for there are in some

districts assemblies of monks who neglect sound doctrine, and observe certain vain points of discipline, upholding the same infatuated views as the Jews and the Samaritans. The great emperor also wrote to those bishops who were unable to attend the council, an account of its transactions. And I consider it of importance to insert this epistle in my work, as it clearly evidences the piety of the writer.

CHAP. X.—THE EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, CONCERNING THE MATTERS TRANSACTED AT THE COUNCIL, ADDRESS-ED TO THOSE BISHOPS WHO WERE NOT PRESENT.

“CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to the churches.

“Viewing the common prosperity enjoyed at this moment, as the result of the great power of Divine grace, I am desirous that the blessed members of the catholic church should be preserved in one faith, in sincere love, and in one form of religion, towards Almighty God. But, because no firmer or more effective measure could be adopted to secure this end, than that of submitting each holy mode of worship to the examination of all or most of all the bishops, I convened as many of them as possible, and took my seat among them as one of yourselves; for I will not deny that truth which is the source of the greatest joy to me, namely, that I am your fellow-servant. Every doubtful point obtained a careful investigation, until doctrines pleasing to God, and conducive to unity, were fully established, so that no room remained for division or controversy concerning the faith. The commemoration of the paschal feast being then debated, it was unanimously decided, that it should everywhere be celebrated upon the same day. What can be more lovely, or more reasonable, than that that festival by which we have received the hope of immortality, should be carefully celebrated by all with the same order, and in the same unvarying mode? It was, in the first place, declared improper to follow the custom of the Jews in the celebration of this holy festival, because their hands are imbued in crime, and their minds blinded with defilement. By rejecting their custom, we substitute and hand down to succeeding ages one which is more reasonable, and which has been observed ever since the day of our Lord’s sufferings. Let us, then, have nothing in common with the Jews,

who are our adversaries. Another way has been pointed out by our Saviour. A better and more lawful line of conduct is inculcated by our holy religion. Let us with one accord walk therein, my much-honoured brethren, studiously avoiding all contact with so evil a people. They boast that without their instructions we should be unable to commemorate the festival properly. This is extremely absurd: what truth can be held by those who, after having compassed the death of the Lord, have not been guided by reason, but by the deceitful aberrations of their own mind? In that very point they have so far lost sight of truth, by always acting according to their own misguided opinions, that they celebrate the Passover twice in one year. What motive can we have to follow those who are thus led astray by error, for we could never judge it right to celebrate it twice in one year. But, even if all these facts did not exist, your own sagacity would prompt you to watch with diligence and with prayer, lest your pure minds should become defiled by intercourse with a people so utterly depraved. It must also be borne in mind, that a difference of opinion upon so important a point as the celebration of a religious rite is unlawful. One day has been set apart by our Saviour for a commemoration of our deliverance and of his most holy sufferings; he decreed that his catholic church should be one, and that the members, though dispersed throughout various parts of the world, should be one in spirit, and should be directed by the same Divine command. Do exert your usual sagacity, and reflect how evil it would be, and how improper, that days devoted by some to fasting, should be spent by others in convivial feasting: and yet this is, in fact, the case. During the paschal feast, some are rejoicing in festivals and relaxations, while others are bowed down by long fastings. That this impropriety should be rectified, and that all these diversities of commemoration should be resolved into one form, is the will of Divine Providence, as I am convinced you will admit. Therefore, this irregularity must be corrected, in order that we may no more have anything in common with the parricides and the murderers of our Lord. An orderly and excellent form of commemoration is observed in all the churches of the western, of the southern, and of the northern countries, and even in the eastern; this form being universally commended, I certified your readiness

to adopt it likewise. Receive, then, willingly the one regulation unanimously adopted in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Libya, Greece, in the dioceses of Asia, and of Pontus, and in Cilicia. Reflect, that the churches of the places above-mentioned are not only greater in point of number, but also that their common mode of procedure rests upon accurate and well-founded arguments, and that we ought not to have anything in common with the perjured Jews.

"I now proceed briefly to recapitulate the whole of the preceding. The judgment of all is, that the holy paschal feast should be held on one and the same day; for, in so holy a matter, it is not right that difference of custom should prevail. It is the more commendable to obey this decree, because it precludes all association with error and with sin. This being the case, receive with gladness the heavenly gift and sacred command; for all that is transacted in the holy councils of the bishops is sanctioned by the Divine will. Therefore, when you have made known to all our beloved brethren the subject of this epistle, you will be bound to conform to the regular observance of this holy day, so that when, according to my long-cherished desire, I shall be with you, I may be able to celebrate with you this holy festival upon one and the same day; and that I may rejoice with you all in witnessing the cruelty of the devil, through Divine grace, destroyed by our efforts, and in perceiving that faith and peace and concord are everywhere in a flourishing condition. May God preserve you, beloved brethren."

CHAP. XI.—THE DAILY WANTS OF THE CHURCH SUPPLIED BY THE EMPEROR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS OTHER VIRTUES.

THUS did the emperor write to those who were absent. Those who attended the council were three hundred and eighteen in number; and to these he manifested great kindness, addressing them with much gentleness, and presenting them with gifts. He ordered numerous seats to be prepared for the accommodation of them all during the repast to which he invited them. Those who were most worthy, he received at his own table, and provided other seats for the rest. Ob-

serving that some among them had had the right eye torn out, and learning that this suffering had been undergone for the sake of religion, he placed his lips upon the wounds, believing that blessing would thence result. After the conclusion of the feast, he again presented other gifts to them. He then wrote to the governors of the provinces,¹ directing that money should be given in every city to orphans and widows, and to those who were consecrated to the Divine service; and he fixed the amount of their annual allowance more according to the impulse of his own generosity, than to the exigencies of their condition. The third part of the sum is distributed to this day. Julian impiously withheld the whole; his successor conferred the sum which is now dispensed, the famine which then prevailed compelling him to do but little. If the pensions were formerly triple in amount to what they are at present, the magnanimity of the emperor can by this fact be easily conceived.

I do not account it right to pass over the following circumstance in silence. Some quarrelsome individuals wrote accusations against certain bishops, and presented this catalogue of crime to the emperor. This occurring before the restoration of concord, he received the lists, formed them into a packet to which he affixed his seal, and put them aside. After a reconciliation had been effected, he brought out these writings and burnt them in their presence, at the same time declaring upon oath that he had not even read them. He said that the crimes of priests ought not to be made known to the multitude, lest they should become an occasion of offence or of sin.² He also said, that if he had detected a bishop in the very act of committing adultery, he would have thrown his imperial robe over the unlawful deed, lest any should witness the scene, and be thereby injured. Thus did he admonish all the priests, as well as confer honours upon them; he then exhorted them to return to their churches.

I shall here insert the letter respecting the faith, written to Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, as it describes the effrontery of the Arians, who have not only despised our fathers, but have rejected their own; and as it also contains a convincing proof

¹ Valesius, however, understands here the Prefects of the Prætorium to be meant, rather than the governors of provinces.

² Nearly the same story is given by Rufinus, Eccl. Hist. b. x. ch. 2.

of their violence. They certainly honoured Eusebius, because he had adopted their sentiments ; but yet they opposed and maligned his writings. He wrote this epistle to some of the Arians, who had accused him, it seems, of treachery. The preceding narrative will be more readily comprehended, and will be rendered clearer, by means of this letter.

CHAP. XII.—EPISTLE OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA, CONCERNING THE NICEAN FORMULARY OF FAITH.

“It is likely that you have learnt from other sources what was decided respecting the faith of the church at the general council of Nice ; for the fame of great transactions generally precedes the accurate detail of them : but lest rumours not strictly founded in truth should have reached you, I think it necessary to send to you, first, the formulary of faith originally proposed by us, and, secondly, the additions appended to it by the bishops when setting it forth. The following is our formulary, which was read in the presence of our most pious emperor, and which was fully approved by all :—

“ ‘The faith which we hold is that which we have received from the bishops who were before us, and in the rudiments of which we were instructed when we were baptized.¹ It is that which we learnt from the Holy Scriptures, and which, when among the presbytery as well as when we were placed in the episcopal office, we have believed and have taught ; and which we now believe, for we still uphold our own faith. It is as follows :—

“ ‘I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things, whether visible or invisible ; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of light, Life of life, the only begotten Son, the First-born of all creatures, begotten of the Father before all ages ; by whom all things were made : who for our salvation took upon him our nature, and dwelt with men. He suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father ; and he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. We also believe in one Holy Ghost. We believe in the existence of each person ; we believe that the Father is in truth the Father ;

¹ Τὸ λουτρὸν λαμβάνομεν. Literally, “we received the laver,” i. e. of regeneration, alluding to Tit. iii. 5.

that the Son is in truth the Son ; that the Holy Ghost is in truth the Holy Ghost ; for our Lord, when sending out his disciples to preach the gospel, said, ‘ Go forth and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ We positively affirm that we hold this faith, that we have always held it, and that we shall adhere to it even unto death, condemning all ungodly heresy. We testify, as before God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we have believed in these truths from the heart and from the soul, ever since we have been capable of reflection ; and we have the means of showing, and, indeed, of convincing you, that we have always during all periods believed and preached them.’

“ When this formulary was set forth by us, no one found occasion to gainsay it ; but our beloved emperor was the first to testify that it was most orthodox, and that he coincided in opinion with it ; and he exhorted the others to sign it, and to receive all the doctrine it contained, with the single addition of the one word—con-substantial. He said that this term con-substantial implied no bodily affection, for that the Son did not derive his existence from the Father either by means of division or of abscission. “ An immaterial, intellectual, and incorporeal nature,’ said he, ‘ cannot be subject to bodily operations. These things must be understood as bearing a divine and mysterious signification.’ Thus reasoned our wisest and most religious emperor. The omission of the word con-substantial was adopted as the pretext for composing the following formulary :—

“ ‘ *The Articles of Faith maintained by the Council.*—We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father ; he is begotten, that is to say, he is of the substance of God, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten and not made, being of one substance with the Father : by whom all things both in heaven and on earth were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and took our nature, and became man ; he suffered, and rose again the third day ; he ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. —The holy catholic and apostolical church condemns all

those who say that there was a period in which the Son of God did not exist; that before he was begotten he had no existence; that he was called out of nothing into being; that he is of a different nature and of a different substance from the Father; and that he is susceptible of variation or change.'

"When they had set forth this formulary, we did not fail to revert to that passage in which they assert that the Son is of the substance of the Father, and of one substance with the Father. Questions and arguments thence arose. By investigating the meaning of the term, they were led to confess that the word consubstantial signifies that the Son is of the Father, but not as being part of the Father's nature. We deemed it right to receive this opinion; for that is sound doctrine which teaches that the Son is of the Father, but not part of his substance. From the love of peace, and from the fear of deviating from the principles of truth, we accept this exposition without rejecting the term in question. For the same reason we admit the expression, 'begotten, but not made;' for they say that the word 'made' is applied to all things which were created by the Son, and which cannot be placed in comparison with him, none of the creatures that he has made being like him. He is by nature superior to all created objects, for he was begotten of the Father, as the Holy Scriptures teach, by a mode of generation which is incomprehensible and inexplicable to all created beings. The mode in which the Son is said to be of the substance of the Father was declared to bear no relation to the body, nor to the laws of mortal life: it was also shown that it does not either imply division of substance, nor abscission, nor any change or diminution in the power of the Father. The nature of the unbegotten Father is not susceptible of these operations. It was concluded that the expression '*of the substance of the Father*,' implies only that the Son of God does not resemble, in any one respect, the creatures which he has made; but that to the Father, who begat him, he is in all points perfectly similar: for he is of the nature and of the substance of none save of the Father. This interpretation having been given of the doctrine, it appeared right to us to receive it, especially as some of the ancient and most celebrated bishops and writers have used the term consubstantial when reasoning on the Divinity of the Father and of the Son. These are the circumstances which I had to com-

municate respecting the formulary of the faith. To it we all agreed, not thoughtlessly, but after mature reflection; and after having subjected it to thorough examination in the presence of our most beloved emperor, we all, for the above reasons, acquiesced in it. We also willingly admitted the anathema appended by them to their formulary of faith, because it prohibits the use of words which are not scriptural; for almost all the disorders and troubles of the Church have arisen from the introduction of such words. As no one part of the inspired writings contains the assertion that the Son was called out of nothing into being, or that there was a period in which he had no existence, nor indeed any of the other phrases of similar import which have been introduced, it does not appear reasonable to assert or to teach such things. In this opinion, therefore, we judged it right to agree; and, indeed, we had never, at any former period, been accustomed to use such words.¹ Moreover, the condemnation of the assertion that before he was begotten he had no existence, does not involve any incongruity, because all assent to the fact that he was the Son of God before he was begotten according to the flesh. And here our most beloved emperor began to reason concerning his Divine origin, and his existence before all ages. He was power in the Father, even before he was begotten, the Father having always been the Father, just as the Son has always been a King and a Saviour; he has always possessed all power, and has likewise always remained in the same state.

“We thought it requisite, beloved brethren, to transmit you an account of these circumstances, in order to show you what examination and investigation we bestowed on all the questions which we had to decide; and also to prove how firmly, even to the last hour, we persevered in refusing our assent to certain sentences, which, when merely committed to writing, offended us. But yet we subsequently, and without contention, received these very doctrines, because, after thorough investigation of their signification, they no longer appeared

¹ The authenticity of the following sentence is doubted. Valesius remarks upon its omission by Socrates and Epiphanius, and adds with respect to the former, “consultò eam prætermisisse mihi videtur, et quòd hæreticum sensum contineret.”

objectionable to us, but seemed conformable to the faith held by us, and confessed in our formulary."

CHAP. XIII.—CONFUTATION OF THE BLASPHEMING ARIANS OF THIS PERIOD, FROM THE WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

EUSEBIUS clearly testifies that the aforesaid term "consubstantial" is not a new one, nor the invention of the fathers assembled at the council; but that it is of high antiquity, having been handed down from parent to son. He states that all those then assembled unanimously received the formulary of the faith; and he again bears testimony to the same fact in another work, in which he highly extols the conduct of the great Constantine.¹ He writes as follows:—

"The emperor having delivered this discourse in Latin, it was translated into Greek by an interpreter, and then he permitted the chief men of the council to express their sentiments. They at once began to bring forward complaints against their neighbours, while the latter had recourse to recriminations and reproaches. Each party had much to urge, and the controversy beginning to be very violent, the emperor, who had patiently and attentively listened to all that had been advanced, fixed another day for the discussion of their differences, and endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting parties; he addressed them in Greek, of which language he was not ignorant, and spoke in a sweet and gentle manner. Some he convinced by argument, others he soothed by kind words; he commended those who had spoken well, and excited all to reconciliation; until, at length, unity of sentiment and of opinion prevailed among them all. They all professed conformity to the same faith, and they agreed to celebrate the holy festival upon the same day. What had been decided was committed to writing, and was signed by all the bishops."

Soon after the author thus continues the narrative:—

"When matters were arranged, the emperor gave them permission to return to their own dioceses. They returned with great joy, and have ever since continued to be of one

¹ He alludes to his *Life of Constantine*, iii. 13. Theodoret here delicately corrects one or two mistakes of Socrates and Sozomen, without however bringing forward their names.

mind, being so firmly united as to form, as it were, but one body. Constantine, rejoicing in the success of his efforts, made known these happy results by letter to those who were at a distance. He ordered large sums of money to be liberally distributed both among the inhabitants of the provinces and of the cities, in order that the twentieth anniversary of his reign might be celebrated with public festivities."

Although the Arians impiously gainsay and refuse to give credit to the statements of the other fathers, yet they ought to believe what has been written by this father, whom they have been accustomed to admire. They ought, therefore, to receive his testimony to the unanimity with which the confession of faith was signed by all. But even if they combat the opinions of the fathers of their own sect, yet surely they must at least have shrunk with horror from the impieties which emanated from Arius, when they learnt the terrible manner of his death. As it is likely that the mode of his death is not known by all, I shall here relate it.

CHAP. XIV.—EXTRACT FROM THE WRITINGS OF ATHANASIUS
ON THE DEATH OF ARIUS.

AFTER Arius had remained a long time¹ in Alexandria, he endeavoured to obtrude himself again into the councils of the church, sometimes by professing to renounce his impiety, and at others by promising to receive the confession of faith drawn up by the fathers. But not succeeding in obtaining the confidence of Alexander, nor of his worthy successor and virtuous imitator Athanasius, he, through the exertions of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, went to settle in Constantinople. The intrigues upon which he then entered, and the just punishment which befell him, are all far better narrated by Athanasius in a letter addressed to Apian, than they are elsewhere: I shall now insert some extracts from this letter.

"I was not at Constantinople when he died; but Macarius, the presbyter, was there, and from him I learnt all the circumstances. The emperor Constantine was induced by the party of Eusebius to send for Arius. Upon his arrival, the emperor

¹ Valesius remarks that Theodoret is guilty of a mistake in saying that Arius remained long at Alexandria after the Council of Nicæa. During this interval it is certain that he was in exile, though Socrates and Theodoret both assert the contrary.

asked him whether he held the faith of the catholic church. Arius replied with oaths that his faith was orthodox, and presented a written summary of his belief; concealing, however, the reasons of his ejection from the church by the bishop Alexander, and deceitfully endeavouring to imitate the language of the Holy Scriptures. When, therefore, he had declared upon oath that he did not hold the errors for which he had been expelled from the church by Alexander, Constantine dismissed him, saying, 'If your faith be orthodox, your oaths are honourable; but if you do not really hold that belief which you have professed upon oath, God will judge you from heaven.' When he quitted the emperor, the partisans of Eusebius, with their usual violence, desired to restore him to communion with the church; but Alexander, of blessed memory, bishop of Constantinople, remonstrated against this measure, alleging that the originator of a schism ought not to be admitted into communion. Then the rest of the partisans of Eusebius began to menace him in the following terms: 'As against your will we succeeded in prevailing on the emperor to send for Arius, so will we now, in opposition to your opinion, take measures to have Arius associated with us in this church to-morrow.' It was on Saturday that they said this. The bishop Alexander, deeply grieved at what he had heard, went into the church and mourned, raising his hands in supplication to God; and he prostrated himself at the foot of the altar, and prayed. Macarius went in with him, prayed with him, and heard what petitions he uttered. He asked one of two things. 'If Arius,' said he, 'is to be joined to the church to-morrow, dismiss me thy servant, and do not destroy the pious with the impious. If thou forgivest thy church, and I know that thou dost forgive her, look upon the words of the followers of Eusebius, and give not over thy heritage to destruction and to shame. Cut off Arius, lest if he enter into communion with the church, heresy enter also, and impiety be found conjoined with piety.' Having thus prayed, the bishop left the church in a state of deep mental anxiety. A horrible and unexpected catastrophe ensued. The partisans of Eusebius had launched out into threats, while the bishop had recourse to prayer. Arius, emboldened by the protection of his party, delivered many trifling and foolish speeches, when he was suddenly compelled by the calls of nature to retire, 'and immediately,' as it is written, 'he

burst asunder, fell down, and expired, being deprived at once both of communion and of life.' This, then, was the end of Arius. The partisans of Eusebius were covered with shame; yet, as he had held the same sentiments as themselves, they buried him. Alexander was filled with joy, and rejoiced with the church in the re-establishment of piety and of orthodoxy; he prayed with all the brethren, and glorified God. This was not because he rejoiced at the death of Arius—far from it, for all men must die; but it was because his mode of death surpassed the judgment of man. For God, when passing judgment upon the menaces of the partisans of Eusebius and the prayer of Alexander, condemned the Arian heresy, showing that it was unworthy of being received into the communion of the church; and thus manifesting that although it received the countenance and support of the emperor, and of all men, yet that it was condemned by truth. These were the first fruits, reaped by Arius, of those pernicious seeds which he had himself sown, forming the prelude to those punishments that await him in futurity. His sufferings form, as it were, a recital of his impiety."

I shall now turn the discourse upon the virtues of the emperor. He addressed a letter to all the subjects of the Roman empire, exhorting them to renounce their former superstitions, and to embrace the doctrines of our Saviour. He exhorted the bishops in every city to build churches, and encouraged them not only by words, but also by presenting them with large sums of money, adequate to defray all the expenses of building. This he explains in his own letter, which is as follows:

CHAP. XV.—LETTER WRITTEN BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE
RESPECTING THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES.¹

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius.

"I feel convinced, my beloved brother, that as the servants of Christ have been suffering up to the present time from nefarious machinations and tyrannical persecutions, all the churches must have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or at least must have become dilapidated from want of proper care. But now that freedom is restored, and that the domi-

¹ This letter, according to Du Pin, was written A. D. 324 or 325.

nion of the dragon has been destroyed, through the providence of God, and by our instrumentality, I think that the Divine power has become known to all, and that those who hitherto, from incredulity or from depravity, have lived in error, will now, upon becoming acquainted with the truth, be led in the way of life. Exert yourself diligently in the reparation of the churches under your jurisdiction, and admonish the principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to engage zealously in the same work; in order that all the churches which still exist may be repaired or enlarged, and that new ones may be built wherever they are required. You, and others through your intervention, can apply to the governors of the provinces, and to the commanders of the troops, for all that may be necessary for this purpose: for they have received written injunctions to supply whatever your holiness may command. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

Thus the emperor wrote to the bishops in each province respecting the re-building of churches. From his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Palestine, it is easily learnt what measures he adopted to obtain copies of the Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. XVI.—THE EPISTLE OF CONSTANTINE CONCERNING THE PREPARATION OF COPIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius.

"In the city which bears our name, a great number of persons have, through the providential care of God the Saviour, been adopted into the holy church. As all things here are in a state of rapid improvement, it is evidently requisite that the things which concern the church should progress proportionably. Adopt joyfully the mode of procedure determined upon by us. It appears expedient that you should get written, on fine parchment, fifty copies of the Scriptures, of which you know the church stands much in need; you must have them clearly and elaborately transcribed by persons whom you believe capable of the task, so that they may be easily read and circulated. We have sent letters to the general director, in order that he may be careful that everything necessary for the undertaking is supplied. The duty devolving upon you is to take measures to insure the completion of these

manuscripts within a short space of time. When they are finished, you are authorized by this letter to order two public carriages for the purpose of transmitting them to us ; and thus they will be easily submitted to our inspection. Appoint one of the deacons of your church to take charge of this part of the business ; when he comes to us, he shall receive proofs of our benevolence. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

CHAP. XVII.—LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO MACARIUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM, CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

"**CONSTANTINE**, the victorious and the great, to Macarius.

"The grace of our Saviour is so wonderful, that no words are adequate to express it. His having kept the monument of his most holy sufferings concealed beneath the earth during a long course of years, until the common enemies of all parties were dispersed, and his servants restored to liberty, proves that his providential care surpasses every other subject of admiration. If all the wise men throughout the world were collected into one place, they could not mention anything so amazing or so wonderful as this ; for this miracle is as much beyond all human power of belief, as heavenly wisdom is beyond the reasonings of man. Hence it is always my first and only object to excite all minds to the observation of the Holy Law with alacrity and diligence, proportioned to the brightness of the manifestation which is thrown by new miracles upon the truth of the faith, day by day. As my design is now generally known, you, above all, must be convinced that my most intense desire is to erect beautiful edifices upon that consecrated spot, which God from the beginning declared holy, and which has been rendered still more holy by the sufferings of our Lord, who thus brought faith to light. The abominable idol which lately desecrated the spot, is now happily removed. I trust, then, to your sagacity to take every necessary care and precaution that these edifices may not only be magnificent, but that they may be incomparably superior to all the most beautiful structures in the world. We have intrusted our friend Dracilianus, governor of the province, with the care of engaging, under your direction, the most skilful workmen for the erection of the walls. He will emulate our piety, and will provide all that you may deem requisite. Let us know,

by letter, what columns or marbles you may consider would be ornamental or useful, and we will have them promptly conveyed to you. Whatever wants you mention shall be supplied; for that which is of all places the most wonderful, ought to be rendered the most beautiful. I wish to learn from you whether you think that the royal arch ought to be fluted, or to be adorned in some other way; for if it is to be fluted, it would be well to gild it. Your holiness must signify to the aforesaid officers, as soon as possible, what workmen and artificers, and what sums of money, are requisite; and let me know promptly not only what marbles and columns, but also what ornamental works, are considered the most beautiful. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

CHAP. XVIII.—HELENA, MOTHER OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.—HER ZEAL IN THE ERECTION OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

THESE letters were carried by no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the emperor, even by her whose piety was revered by all, and who was most highly blessed in her maternal capacity, having been the means of producing that great light which she still nourished by religious counsels. She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year. When she arrived at the place where the Saviour suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple, which had been there erected, to be destroyed, and the very materials to be removed. The tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered; and three crosses, the memorials of the Lord, were perceived near it. All were of opinion that one of these crosses was that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the other two were those of the thieves who were crucified with him. Yet they could not discern upon which one the body of the Lord had been nailed, and upon which his blood had fallen. But the wise and holy Macarius, the bishop of the city, succeeded in resolving this question. After engaging in prayer, he induced a lady of rank, who had been long suffering from disease, to touch each of the crosses, and the efficacious power residing in that of the Saviour manifested its identity. In fact, it had scarcely been brought near the lady, when the inveterate disease left her,

and she was healed. The mother of the emperor, on being informed of the accomplishment of what she had most desired, gave orders that some of the nails should be driven into the royal helmet, in order that the head of her child might be preserved from the darts of his enemies; and she ordered some of the other nails to be fixed in the bridle of his horse, not only to insure the safety of the emperor, but also to fulfil an ancient prophecy; for Zachariah, the prophet, predicted, that "what is upon the bridles of the horses shall be holiness unto the Lord Almighty." She had part of the cross of our Saviour conveyed to the palace, and the rest was enclosed in a covering of silver, and committed to the care of the bishop of the city, whom she exhorted to preserve it carefully, in order that it might be transmitted uninjured to posterity. She then sent everywhere for workmen and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be here erected. It is unnecessary to describe their beauty and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, visited and viewed with admiration these magnificent productions of art.

This celebrated and admirable empress performed another action worthy of being remembered. She assembled a number of young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and made them recline on couches, while she presented them with meat and with a beverage mixed with wine, and waited upon them; she then brought them water to wash their hands.

After performing other laudable actions, the empress returned to her son. Not long after, she tranquilly entered upon another and a better life, after having given her son much pious advice and her fervent blessing. After her death, those honours were rendered to her memory which her steadfast and entire adherence to God deserved.

CHAP. XIX.—THE UNLAWFUL TRANSLATION OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA.

THE Arian party did not desist from their evil machinations. They had only signed the confession of faith for the purpose of disguising themselves in sheep's skins, while they were acting the part of wolves. The holy Alexander, bishop of Byzantium, now called Constantinople, whose prayer had occasioned the death of Arius, had, at the period to which we

are referring, been translated to a better life.¹ Eusebius, the propagator of impiety, little regarding the regulations to which, only a short time previously, he with the other bishops had agreed, quitted Nicomedia to take possession of the see of Constantinople, in direct violation of that canon which prohibits bishops and presbyters from going from one city to another. But that those who carry their infatuation so far as to oppose the Divinity of the only begotten Son of God, should likewise violate the other laws, cannot excite surprise. This is not either the first innovation that he had made; for he had left Berytus, although he had been appointed bishop in that city, and had assumed the superintendence of the church of Nicomedia. He was thence expelled by the synod, when his impiety became known, as was likewise Theognis, bishop of Nice. This is related in the letters of the emperor Constantine; and I shall here insert² some extracts from the latter part of it in explanation of the circumstance. These letters were written to the Nicomedians.

CHAP. XX.—EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE AGAINST EUSEBIUS AND THEOGNIS, ADDRESSED TO THE NICOMEDIANS.

“WHO has taught these doctrines to the innocent multitude? It is manifestly Eusebius, the co-operator in the cruelty of the tyrants. For that he was the agent of the tyrants has been clearly shown; and, indeed, is proved by the slaughter of the bishops, and by the fact that these victims were true bishops. The relentless persecution of the Christians may be considered as furnishing another indubitable proof. I shall not here give an account of my own wrongs, the seditions excited, or the spies employed against me;³ for, indeed, they scarcely refrained from raising troops against me. Let not any one imagine that I allege what I am not prepared to prove. I am in possession of clear evidence; for I have caused the

¹ Socrates and Sozomen, however, place the date of Alexander's death after the accession of the emperor Constantius. Valesius supports Theodoret's opinion.

² This letter is preserved by Baronius in his *Annals*, A. D. 329, though, as Valesius remarks, not at the correct place.

³ He means the presbyters and deacons sent by Eusebius to Constantine at the beginning of his war with Licinius, in order to keep a watch upon his designs.

bishops and presbyters belonging to his retinue to be seized. But I pass over all these facts. I only mention them for the purpose of making these persons ashamed of their conduct, and not from any feeling of resentment. There is one thing which grieves me, and that is, to see that you have formed criminal associations with them ; for you are influenced by the doctrines of Eusebius, and have thus been led away from truth. But you will be soon restored if, after obtaining a bishop who holds pure and faithful doctrines, you will but look unto God. This depends upon you alone ; and you would, no doubt, have thus acted long ago, had not Eusebius come here through his then powerful adherents, and overturned all discipline. As it is necessary to allude to Eusebius, you must remember that I was present at the council held in the city of Nice, (to which attendance I was compelled by conscience,) and that I was actuated by no other motive than the desire of producing peace among all, and of exploding the errors which originated from the infatuation of Arius, and which have been fostered and increased by the absurd and pernicious wiles of Eusebius. But, beloved and much-honoured brethren, you know not with what assurance Eusebius, although convinced by the testimony of his own conscience, infamously persevered in the support of false doctrines, both by sending different persons to me to petition on his behalf, and by personally entreating my assistance in preventing his being ejected from his bishopric ; although his crimes had been fully detected. God, whom I trust will continue his goodness towards you and towards me, is witness to the truth of what I say. I was then myself deluded and deceived by Eusebius, as you well know. In everything he acted according to the desire of him whose mind is full of evil. But, omitting the relation of the rest of his misdeeds, it is well that you should be informed of the crime which he perpetrated in concert with Theognis his accomplice. I had sent orders for the apprehension of certain individuals¹ in Alexandria who opposed our faith, and who had excited disturbances. But those good and excellent bishops,² who, by the clemency of the coun-

¹ Baronius thinks that the Melitians are here intended, but Valesius refers these words, with greater correctness, to the Arian party.

² Eusebius and Theognis, who had sided with the Arians at Nice, but were exempted from the full operation of the sentence, by the favour and intercession of Constantine.

cil, had been admitted to penitence, not only received them under their protection, but also participated in their evil deeds. Hence I came to the determination of banishing these ungrateful persons to some far distant region. It is now your duty to look unto God with the eyes of faith, even as you have already done, and as it is right that you should do; and let us rejoice that orthodox and philanthropic bishops have been now appointed. If any one should make mention of those destroyers, or presume to speak in their praise, let him know that his audacity will be repressed by the authority which has been committed to me as the servant of God. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

The bishops above-mentioned were deposed and banished. Amphio was intrusted with the church of Nicomedia, and Chrestus with that of Nice. But the exiled bishops, with their usual artfulness, abused the benevolence of the emperor, renewed the previous contests, and regained their former power.

CHAP. XXI. THE ARTFUL MACHINATIONS OF EUSEBIUS AND HIS PARTISANS AGAINST THE HOLY EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

EUSEBIUS, as I have already stated, seized the diocese of Constantinople by force. He acquired great power in that city: he visited, and often familiarly entertained, the emperor; and hence he prepared to injure by his artifices those who were foremost in the support of truth. He at first feigned a desire of going to Jerusalem, to see the celebrated edifices there erected: and the emperor, who was deceived by him, allowed him to set out with the utmost honour, granting him the use of the royal carriages, and other privileges. Theognia, bishop of Nice, who, as we have before said, was his accomplice in his evil designs, travelled with him. When they arrived at Antioch, they put on the appearance of friendship, and were received with much honour. Eustathius, the great defender of the faith, treated them with fraternal kindness. When they arrived at the holy city, they had an interview with those who were of the same opinions as themselves, namely, Eusebius, bishop of Cæarea, Patrophilius, bishop of Scythopolitamus, Actium, bishop of Lydda, Theodotus, bishop

of Laodicea, and others who had imbibed the Arian sentiments; they made known their designs to them, and went with them to Antioch. Their pretext for thus journeying together was, that due honour might be rendered to Eusebius; but their real motive was to attack the truth. They bribed a woman who was a professed prostitute, to say whatever they might desire: they then repaired to the council, and when all the members were assembled, they introduced the wretched woman. She held a babe in her arms, of which she loudly and impudently affirmed that Eustathius was the father. Eustathius, conscious of his innocence, asked her whether she could bring forward any witness to prove what she had advanced. She replied, that she could not: yet these equitable judges received her testimony, although it is said in the law, that by two or three witnesses every word must be established; and although the apostle says, that an accusation is not to be received against an elder unless there be two or three witnesses. But they despised these Divine laws, and admitted the accusation against this great man without any witnesses. When the woman had again declared upon oath that Eustathius was the father of the babe, the judges condemned him as an adulterer. The other bishops, who upheld the apostolical doctrines, were ignorant of all these intrigues. They openly opposed the sentence, and advised Eustathius not to submit to it. The originators of the plot promptly repaired to the emperor, and endeavoured to persuade him that the accusation was true, and the sentence just; and they succeeded in obtaining the banishment of a man of rigid piety, and of great wisdom, as an adulterer and a tyrant. He was conducted across Thebes to a city of Illyria.

CHAP. XXII.—BISHOPS OF HERETICAL OPINIONS ORDAINED
IN ANTIOCH AFTER THE BANISHMENT OF ST. EUSTATHIUS.

EULALIUS was first ordained in place of Eustathius. But Eulalius surviving his elevation only a short period, it was much desired that Eusebius, bishop of Palestine, should be translated to this bishopric.¹ Eusebius, however, refused the

¹ Valesius shows by a reference to Eusebius, Life of Constantine, b. iii., that Theodoret is mistaken here, and that Eusebius was advanced to the see of Antioch immediately on the deposition of Eustathius.

appointment, and the emperor forbid its being conferred on him: the dignity, therefore, fell upon Euphonius, who died after the lapse of only one year and a few months, and was succeeded by Flacillus.¹ All these bishops secretly clung to the Arian opinions. Hence it was, that most of those individuals, whether of the clergy or of the laity, who valued religion, left the churches and formed assemblies among themselves. They were called Eustathians, although it was after the banishment of Eustathius that they held their meetings. The wretched woman above mentioned was soon after attacked by a severe and protracted illness; and she then avowed the imposture in which she had been engaged, and made known the whole affair, not only to two or three, but to almost all the priests. She confessed that the accusation itself was untrue, but yet that her oath was not altogether false, as Eustathius the coppersmith was the father of the babe. Such were some of the crimes perpetrated in Antioch by that faction.

CHAP. XXIII.—THE CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS.

AT this period, the light of faith was for the first time shed upon India. The courage and the piety of the emperor had become celebrated throughout the world; and all the barbarians had learnt, that to be at peace with him was more desirable for them than to carry on war against him. Being thus able to undertake other enterprises, many persons set out on long journeys; some for the desire of making discoveries, others from a spirit of commercial enterprise. A philosopher of Tyre about this period, desiring to penetrate into the interior of India, set off for this purpose with his two nephews. When he had accomplished the object of his wishes, he embarked on board a ship to return to his own country. This ship being compelled, by scarcity of water, to touch at a port to obtain a fresh supply, the barbarians fell upon her, drowned some of the crew, and took the others prisoners. The philosopher was among the number of those who were killed. His nephews were conducted to the king. The name of the one was Edesius, and of the other Frumentius. The king of the country perceiving, in course of time, that they possessed ta-

¹ This name is indifferently written Placitus, Placentius, and Placutus.

lent and sagacity, promoted them to the superintendence of his household. If any one should doubt the truth of this account, let him recall to mind the promotion of Joseph in the kingdom of Egypt, and also the history of Daniel, and of the three godly young men, who became princes of Babylon, after having been its captives.

The king died, and was succeeded by his son; and these young men were advanced to still greater power. As they had been brought up in the true religion, some merchants who frequented the country proposed to them to assemble, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to perform the divine service. A long time afterwards they solicited the king to reward their services, by permitting them to return to their own country. They obtained his permission, and safely reached the Roman empire, Edesius directing his course towards Tyre. But Frumentius, whose religious zeal was greater than the natural feeling of filial affection, proceeded to Alexandria, and informed the bishop of that city, that the Indians were deeply anxious to obtain spiritual light. Athanasius, who then held the reins of this church, replied by saying, "Who could remove better than you could the gross ignorance of this people, and introduce among them the light of Divine truth?" After having said this, he conferred upon him the sacerdotal dignity, and sent him to preach to those nations. The newly-ordained priest left his country, crossed without fear the intervening sea, and returned to the uncivilized nation, among whom, through the grace of God, he cheerfully and successfully laboured. He confirmed the truth of his doctrine by extraordinary signs, and convinced all gainsayers, performing miracles similar to those of the apostles; and by his instrumentality many were daily enlightened.

CHAP. XXIV.—CONVERSION OF THE IBERIANS.

FRUMENTIUS was the means of communicating the knowledge of God to India. Iberia, about the same time, was taught the way of truth by a captive woman. She devoted herself to prayer; she allowed herself no better bed than a sack spread upon the ground, and accounted fasting her highest enjoyment. This austerity was rewarded by gifts similar to those of the apostles. The barbarians, who were ignorant of medi-

cine, were accustomed, when attacked by disease, to visit each other, in order to ask those who had suffered in a similar way by what means they had been cured; in accordance with this custom, a native woman who had a sick child repaired to this admirable female, to inquire if she knew of any cure for the disease. The latter took the child, placed it upon her bed, and prayed that it might be healed. Her supplication was heard, and the disease was removed. This extraordinary woman hence obtained great celebrity; and the queen, who was suffering from a severe disease, hearing of her by report, sent for her. The captive held herself in very low estimation, and would not accept the invitation of the queen. But her Majesty, in her anxiety to obtain relief from suffering, threw aside her royal dignity, and went herself to seek the captive woman. The latter made the queen lie down upon her bed, and applied to her disease the efficacious remedy of prayer. The queen was healed, and offered as rewards for so important a service, gold, silver, garments, mantles, and such gifts as royal munificence could bestow. The holy woman told her, that she did not want any of these recompences, and that the greatest reward she desired was to lead her to the knowledge of religion. She then meekly explained the Divine doctrines, and exhorted her to erect a church in honour of Christ, who had healed her. The queen then returned to the palace, and excited the admiration of her consort, by relating to him the miraculous mode of her cure; and led him to acknowledge the power of that God whom the captive adored. She besought him not only to seek the knowledge of God, but to erect a church, that all the nation might serve Him. The king praised the miracle which had been performed upon the queen, but he would not consent to erect a church. A short time after he went out hunting, and, by the mercy of God, was converted in the same way as Paul: for a sudden storm arose, and enveloped him in darkness, which did not extend beyond him, for those with him were not deprived of light. He, however, found means to dispel the darkness, for his perplexity led him to the knowledge of the Saviour. His mind reverted to his former unbelief, he implored the help of the God of the captive woman, and immediately the darkness was removed. He then went to the extraordinary captive, and asked her in what way a church ought to be built. He who

once filled Bezaleel¹ with architectural skill, graciously enabled this woman to devise the plan of a church. When she had drawn the plan, the erection of the church was immediately commenced. When the edifice was completed, the roof put on, and everything supplied except the priests, this admirable woman persuaded the king to send to the Roman empire for teachers of religion. The king accordingly despatched an embassy for the purpose. The emperor Constantine, who was warmly attached to the cause of religion, gladly welcomed the ambassadors when informed of the purport of the embassy. He selected a bishop endowed with great faith, wisdom, and virtue, and presenting him with many gifts, sent him to the Iberians, that he might lead them to the knowledge of God. Not content with having effected so much for Iberia, he was led by his own feelings to protect the Christians in Persia; and, learning that they were persecuted, and that the king treated them with great cruelty, he wrote to him, entreating him to embrace the Christian religion himself, as well as to honour its professors. His own letter will render the subject more intelligible than any description.

CHAP. XXV.—LETTER WRITTEN BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO SAPOR, THE KING OF PERSIA, RESPECTING THE CHRISTIANS.

“IN preserving the holy faith I enjoy the light of truth, and by following the light of truth I attain to greater knowledge of the faith. I adhere to that most holy religion which inculcates the recognition and worship of one God. By the powerful protection of that God, I came at first from the farthest boundaries of the ocean, and have now filled the whole empire with hope of deliverance from trouble. All the provinces which were suffering from the oppression of tyrants have been rescued, and their property restored. This I declare to be the work of God. My soldiers believe in this God; they bear his standard, and through him they gain the most famous victories. I confess that God is ever in my mind; that my spirit dwells upon the contemplation of his elevation and glory, and that I simply kneel when I call upon him; shunning the effusion of blood, the odour arising from victims, the light kindled

¹ See Exod. xxxv. 30, and xxxvi.—xxxix.

by means of earthly materials, and all the other evil superstitions and awful errors, by means of which the heathen are destroyed: for God does not permit those gifts to be abused which, in his good providence, he has bestowed upon men for the supply of their wants. He only requires of men purity of mind and a spotless conscience: their virtue and their piety are weighed by Him. He is pleased with modesty and with gentleness; he delights in meekness, and hates those who excite contentions: he loves faith, visits unbelief with chastisement, and takes vengeance upon those who, arrogant of power, are haughty and contumelious. He abases those who are proud, and rewards the humble-minded and the forbearing. He protects those kings who exercise justice, increases their power, and blesses them with peace. I do not deceive myself, my brother, when I confess that God is the Ruler and the Father of all men. Many who preceded me upon the imperial throne were so deluded by error as to deny this truth. But their latter end was so dreadful, that they are held up as a fearful warning to deter all others from the commission of similar iniquity. That man was one of them who was driven hence by Divine vengeance like a thunderbolt into your country, where he raised a memorial of his infamy. But the age in which we live is distinguished by the open and manifest punishments which have been inflicted on such persons. I myself have witnessed the end of one of those who had enacted unjust laws against the people who serve God. Hence it is that I more especially thank God for having now, by a peculiar dispensation of his providence, restored peace to those who observe his law. I am led to expect future happiness and security from the circumstance, that God has in his goodness united all men in the exercise of the one pure and true religion. I rejoice exceedingly to hear that multitudes have become Christians, and that the finest provinces of Persia are honoured with their residence. I hope that they, and you likewise, will be blessed with prosperity in all that concerns you both, and that you may experience the favour and the goodness of the Ruler of the universe. I commend the Christians to your care, and leave them in your protection; treat them, I beseech you, with benevolence. Your fidelity in this respect will be attended by results incalculably beneficial to yourself as well as to us."

This excellent emperor held all who had embraced the true religion in such high estimation, that he not only watched over the believers who resided in his dominions, but also assisted those who were located in other and distant regions. For this reason he was blessed with the special protection of God, so that although his dominions extended throughout Europe, and Africa, and the greater part of Asia, his subjects were all obedient, and attached to his government. All foreign nations recognised his power, some spontaneously, others from having been overcome by him in war. Trophies were erected everywhere to honour him, and he was universally proclaimed the conqueror : but his praise has been resounded by many other writers. We must resume the thread of our history. This emperor, who deserves the highest fame, devoted his whole mind with zeal worthy of the apostles to ecclesiastical matters, while those who had been admitted to the sacerdotal dignity not only neglected the church, but endeavoured to uproot it from the very foundations. They invented false accusations against all those who most firmly maintained the doctrines taught by the apostles, in order that they might depose and banish them. Their envy was not satisfied by the infamous falsehood which they had circulated against Eustathius, but they had recourse to every artifice to effect the ruin of the other great bulwark of religion. I shall relate these occurrences as concisely as possible.

CHAP. XXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLOT FORMED AGAINST THE
HOLY ATHANASIUS.

ALEXANDER, that exemplary bishop, who had condemned the blasphemies of Arius, having died five months after the council of Nice, Athanasius was appointed to the church of Alexandria. He had from his youth been instructed in the Holy Scriptures ; and had attracted general admiration by his faithful discharge of the duties pertaining to each ecclesiastical degree. He had, at the general council, so well defended the doctrines of the apostles, that he obtained the approbation of all who upheld the truth, and excited the enmity of those who opposed it. He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander, for he was then very young, although he was

[THEODORET.]

the principal deacon.¹ When those who had denied the only begotten Son of God, heard of his appointment to the bishopric of Alexandria, they thought that his promotion would prove the destruction of their power: they, therefore, resorted to machinations against him. They bribed some of the adherents of Melitus, who had been deposed by the council of Nice, but who had persevered in exciting commotions in Thebes and in the country round Egypt, and persuaded them to go to the emperor, and to accuse Athanasius before him of having levied a tax upon Egypt,² and of having given the proceeds of this taxation to a certain man who was preparing to usurp the imperial power. The emperor, astonished at this information, sent orders for Athanasius to repair to Constantinople. Upon his arrival he proved that the accusation was false, and was permitted to return to his church, as is shown by a letter on this subject from the emperor to the church of Alexandria. I shall only transcribe the concluding paragraph.

CHAP. XXVII.—LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.

“BELIEVE me, my brethren, the wicked were unable to effect anything against your bishop. They surely could have been actuated by no other design than to make us lose time, and to leave no room for their own repentance in this life. Assist each other, love those who love you; and exert all your power in the expulsion of those who wish to interrupt your concord. Look unto God, and love one another. I joyfully welcomed Athanasius your bishop; and I have conversed with him as with one whom I know to be a man of God.”

CHAP. XXVIII.—ANOTHER PLOT AGAINST THE BISHOP ATHANASIUS.

THE calumniators of Athanasius felt no remorse; on the contrary, they devised so bold a fiction against him,

¹ Valesius understands Theodoret here to mean the office of archdeacon, and remarks that this passage is by itself a proof that the dignity was in the gift of the bishop.

² Compare the parallel account given by Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 35.

that it surpassed any fable that had been invented by the ancient writers, whether comic or tragic. They again bribed individuals of the same party ; and brought them before the emperor, to criminate the virtuous bishop. Amongst them were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore, bishop of Perinthus, a city now called Heraclea. After having accused Athanasius of dreadful crimes, which could not then be specified in detail, they persuaded the emperor to convene a council at Cæsarea in Palestine, where Athanasius had many enemies, and to command that his cause should be there tried. The emperor little suspected that bishops could be capable of such duplicity, and was perfectly ignorant of their intrigues ; he was, therefore, persuaded by them to act as they desired. But the holy Athanasius, well aware of the malevolence of his enemies, refused to appear at the council. This served as a pretext to those who opposed the truth to criminate him still further ; and they accused him before the emperor of contumacy and arrogance. And thus all his hope was frustrated ; for the emperor, although exceedingly forbearing, became exasperated by their representations, and wrote to him in an angry manner, commanding him to repair to Tyre where the council was ordered to assemble, because, as I think, the metropolitan bishop of Cæsarea was distrusted by Athanasius. The emperor wrote also to the council in a style consistent with his devoted piety. His letter is as follows.

CHAP. XXIX.—EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO
THE COUNCIL.

“CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to the holy council assembled in Tyre.

“In the general prosperity which distinguishes this period, it seems right that the Catholic Church should likewise be exempt from trouble, and that the servants of Christ should be freed from every annoyance. But as certain individuals, who are instigated by the love of contention, and who lead a life unworthy of their profession, endeavour to excite disorder, which appears to me to be a source of the greatest regret, I beseech you to assemble together, as I know that you yourselves desire, that a council may be convened without delay ;

so that you may support those who require your assistance, that you may heal the brethren who are afflicted with spiritual maladies, that you may reunite the members of the one body, that you may rectify the disorders of the church while time permits; and that you may restore concord to those provinces which, alas! were thrown into confusion by the arrogance of a few men. I believe every one would admit that you could not perform anything so pleasing in the sight of God, so conformable to all my desires, as well as to your own, or so conducive to your own honour, as to restore peace. Do not delay, but endeavour with redoubled alacrity to terminate these discussions, with all that sincerity and fidelity which, according to the command of our Saviour, ought to pervade all our actions. Nothing shall be omitted on my part to further the interests of our religion. I have done all that you recommended in your letters. I have written to those bishops whom you specified, directing them to repair to the council for the purpose of deliberating with you upon ecclesiastical matters. I have also sent Dionysius, one of the consuls, to remind those who are to sit in council with you, of their duty to be zealous in the maintenance of good order in everything that is transacted. If any one should dare to disobey our command, and refuse to come to the council, which, however, I do not think possible, we must send him into immediate banishment, that he may learn not to oppose the decrees enacted by the emperor for the support of truth. All that now devolves upon your holiness is to judge without partiality or prejudice, to obey the ecclesiastical and apostolical canons, and to devise suitable remedies for the evil which has resulted from error; in order that the church may be freed from all reproach, that my anxiety may be diminished, that peace may be restored, and that your renown may be increased. May your God preserve you, beloved brethren."

The bishops accordingly repaired to the council of Tyre. Amongst them were those who were suspected of holding heterodox doctrines; Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was one of the accused; the admirable Athanasius also attended. I shall first dwell on the accusation alleged against him, and shall then relate the proceedings of this famous court of justice.

CHAP. XXX.—COUNCIL OF TYRE.

ARSENIUS was the bishop of the Melitian faction. His partisans put him in a place of concealment, and requested him to remain there. They then cut off the right hand of a corpse, embalmed it, placed it in a wooden coffin, and carried it about everywhere, declaring that it was the hand of Arsenius, who had been murdered by Athanasius. But the omniscient God did not permit Arsenius to remain long in concealment. It was first rumoured that he had gone to reside in Egypt; then, that he was at Thebes; afterwards he was led by Divine Providence to Tyre, where the hand represented as his had been brought before the council. The friends of Athanasius arrested him, and detained him for a time at an inn.¹ Early one morning, as soon as the great Athanasius appeared in the council, a woman of loose principles was ushered in: she deposed in a loud and impudent manner that she had vowed perpetual virginity, but that Athanasius, who had lodged in her house, had violated her chastity. The judges of Athanasius commanded him to reply to the deposition against him; but he was silent, as if he had not been Athanasius. Timotheus, however, a presbyter, who had entered the council with the accuser, addressed her in the following terms: "Have I, O woman, ever conversed with you, or have I ever entered your house?" She replied with the utmost effrontery, railed at Timotheus, and, pointing at him with her finger, she exclaimed, "It was by you that the act of violence was committed upon me;" and she added other indelicate expressions which are used by women destitute of all modesty. Those who had devised this calumny, and the judges who were cognizant of it, were covered with confusion, and the woman was dismissed. Athanasius said, that instead of sending her away they ought to ascertain from her the names of those by whom she had been employed; but his accusers replied, that he had perpetrated other flagrant crimes, of which it was utterly impossible that he could by any art be exonerated; and that eyes, even without ears, were sufficient to demonstrate his culpability. Having said this, they exhibited the celebrated coffin, and exposed the embalmed hand to view. At this sight, all the spectators uttered a loud cry.

¹ Καταγωγή.

Some believed the accusation to be true ; the others suspected the falsehood, and thought that Arsenius was lurking somewhere or other in concealment. When at length, after some difficulty, silence was obtained, the accused asked his judges whether any of them knew Arsenius. Several of them replying that they had been intimately acquainted with him, Athanasius gave orders that he should be brought before them. Then he again asked them, whether that was the same Arsenius whom he was accused of having assassinated, and of having afterwards insulted, by cutting off his right hand. When they had confessed that it was the same individual, Athanasius raised both the sides of his cloak, so as to display his two hands, and said, "No man has received more than two hands from the Creator." The calumniators and the judges who were privy to the crime, instead of hiding themselves, or praying that the earth might open and engulf them, raised an uproar and commotion in the assembly, and declared that Athanasius was a sorcerer, and that he had by his magical incantations bewitched the eyes of men. They strove to tear him in pieces, and to kill him, although only a short time previously they had condemned him on a charge of murder. But those whom the emperor had intrusted with the preservation of order, saved the life of Athanasius by dragging him away from them, and hurrying him on board a ship. When he was presented to the emperor, he described all the stratagems which had been employed against him. The calumniators sent bishops attached to their faction into Mareota. Theognis, bishop of Nice, Theodore, bishop of Perinthus, Maris, bishop of Chalcedonia, Narcissus, bishop of Cilicia, with others of the same sentiments, were selected for this purpose. Mareota is situated near Alexandria, and derives its name from the lake Mareotis. Here they invented other falsehoods, renewed their former artifices, and framed groundless accusations, which they caused to be laid before the emperor.

CHAP. XXXI.—CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM.—BANISHMENT OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

ALL the bishops who were present at the council of Tyre were commanded by the emperor to proceed to Jerusalem, to

consecrate the church which he had there erected. The piety and faithfulness of the excellent ruler became conspicuous by his liberality in granting abundant supplies of provisions, not only to the bishops and their followers, but to the vast multitudes who flocked from all parts to Jerusalem. Around the holy altar was a curtain belonging to the emperor, richly adorned with gems and gold. When the dazzling festival was concluded, each bishop returned to his own diocese. The emperor was highly gratified when informed of the splendour and magnificence displayed on the occasion, and blessed the Author of all good for having granted his petition. Athanasius went to him to complain of his unjust condemnation, and at his request the culpable bishops were commanded to repair to the court. Upon their arrival, they desisted from urging any of their former calumnies, because they knew how clearly they could be refuted ; but they made it appear that Athanasius had threatened to prevent the exportation of corn. The emperor believed what they said, and banished him to a city of Gaul called Treves. This occurred in the thirtieth year of the emperor's reign.

CHAP. XXXII.—WILL OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

A YEAR and a few months subsequently, (A. D. 337,) the emperor was taken ill at Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia. Being thus led to reflect on the uncertainty of human life, he received the holy rite of baptism, which he had intended to have deferred until he could be baptized in the river Jordan. He settled the succession to the imperial throne upon his three children, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. He enacted that the great Athanasius should return to Alexandria, and expressed this decision in the presence of Eusebius, who used every argument to dissuade him.

CHAP. XXXIII.—APOLOGY FOR CONSTANTINE.

It ought not to excite astonishment that Constantine was so far deceived as to send so many great men into exile ; for he believed the assertions of bishops, who skilfully concealed their malice under the appearance of illustrious qualities.

Those who are acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures know that the holy David, although he was a prophet, was deceived ; and that too not by a priest, but by one who was a menial, a bondsman, and a profligate. for Ziba, I say, deluded the king by falsehoods against Mephibosheth, and thus obtained his land. It is not to condemn the prophet that I thus speak ; I only propose to defend the emperor, to show the weakness of human nature, and to teach that implicit belief should not be given to those who advance accusations, even though they may appear to deserve it ; but that the other party ought also to be heard, and that attention ought to be given to the statements of the accused. However, the emperor was translated from his earthly dominions to a better kingdom.

CHAP. XXXIV.—THE END OF THE HOLY EMPEROR
CONSTANTINE.

THE body of the emperor was enclosed in a golden coffin, and was carried to Constantinople by the governors of the provinces, the military commanders, and the other officers of state, preceded and followed by the armies, all bitterly deploring their loss ; for Constantine had been as an affectionate father to them all. The body of the emperor was allowed to remain in the palace until the arrival of his sons ; the honours then rendered to him require no description here, as a full account has been given by other writers. From their works, which are easy of access, may be learnt how greatly the Ruler of all honours his faithful servants. If any one should be tempted to unbelief, let him look at what occurs near the tomb and the statue of Constantine,¹ and then he must admit the truth of what God have said in the Scriptures, "I will honour those who have honoured me, and those who have despised me shall be despised."

¹ This procession took place annually, (says the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*,) on the 11th of May, the great festival which commemorated the foundation of the city.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

ATHANASIUS returned to Alexandria after having remained two years and four months¹ at Treves. Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great, whose imperial sway extended over Gaul, wrote the following letter to the church of Alexandria.

CHAP. II.—EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, THE SON OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.

“CONSTANTINE CÆSAR to the members of the Catholic Church of Alexandria:

“I think that you cannot have forgotten how Athanasius, the interpreter of the venerated law, was sent for a time into Gaul, on account of the sanguinary designs of his enemies, lest he should fall a sacrifice to the cruelty of those evil men. To avoid this imminent peril, he was directed to remain in a city under my jurisdiction, where he was abundantly supplied with every necessary, but the greatness of his virtue, supported as it was by the grace of God, led him to despise all the calamities of adverse fortune. Constantine, my lord and my father, of blessed memory, intended to have reinstated him in his former bishopric, and to have restored him to you ; but as he was arrested by the hand of death before his desires were accomplished, I, being his heir, must carry them into execution. You will learn from your bishop himself with how much respect I have acted towards him. Nor indeed is it surprising that he should have been thus treated by me ; I was incited to this line of conduct by perceiving his great virtue, and the love evinced by you towards him. May Divine Providence watch over you, beloved brethren !”

According to the directions contained in this letter, St. Athanasius returned from exile ; he was most gladly welcomed both by the rich and by the poor, by the inhabitants

¹ Valesius shows reasons for believing that the banishment of Athanasius did not last so long as two years.

of cities, and by those of the provinces. Hence Eusebius, Theognis, and those of their faction resorted to their former machinations, and endeavoured to prejudice the young emperor against him. I shall now proceed to relate in what manner Constantius swerved from the doctrines of the apostles.

CHAP. III.—DECLENSION OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS FROM THE TRUE FAITH.

CONSTANTIA,¹ the widow of Licinius, was the sister of Constantine. She was intimately acquainted with a certain priest who had imbibed the doctrines of Arius. He did not openly acknowledge his heterodoxy; but, in the frequent conversations which he had with her, he did not refrain from declaring that Arius had been unjustly calumniated. After the death of her ungodly husband, the renowned Constantine did everything in his power to solace and comfort her. He attended her also in her last illness, and rendered her every service which she could desire. She then presented the priest whom I mentioned to the emperor, and entreated him to receive him under his protection. Constantine acceded to her request, and soon after fulfilled his promise. But though the priest was permitted the utmost freedom, and was advanced to a most honourable office, yet he always concealed his corrupt principles, being well aware of the firmness with which the emperor adhered to the truth. When Constantine was on the point of being translated to a higher and an eternal kingdom, he drew up a will, in which he directed that his dominions should be divided among his children. None of them were with him when he was dying, so he intrusted the will to the priest alone, and desired him to give it to Constantius, who, being at a shorter distance from the spot than his brothers, was expected to arrive the first. Accordingly, upon the arrival of Constantius, the priest presented the will to him; and he thus obtained his favour, and was commanded to visit him frequently. Perceiving the weakness of Constantius, whose mind could only be compared to reeds driven to and fro by the wind, he became emboldened to attack the doctrines of the gospel. He loudly deplored the troubles of the church, and asserted that they were all produced by those who had appended the un-

¹ Constantia died A. D. 329.

scriptural word "consubstantial"¹ to the confession of faith, and that all the disputes among the clergy and the laity had been occasioned by them. He calumniated Athanasius and all who coincided in his opinions, and formed designs for their destruction. He had for his accomplices, Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore, bishop of Perinthus.² The latter, who went generally by the name of Heracleotes, was a man of great erudition, and had written an exposition of the Holy Scriptures. These bishops resided near the emperor, and frequently visited him; they assured him that the return of Athanasius from banishment had occasioned many evils, and had excited a tempest by which not only Egypt, but also Palestine, Phoenicia, and the adjacent countries, had been shaken.

CHAP. IV.—SECOND EXILE OF ST. ATHANASIOUS.—ORDINATION AND DEATH OF GREGORY.

WITH these and similar arguments the bishops assailed the weak-minded emperor, and persuaded him to expel Athanasius from his church. But obtaining timely intimation of their design, Athanasius departed towards the west. The partisans of Eusebius had sent false accusations against him to Julius, bishop of Rome. In obedience to the laws of the church,³ Julius summoned the accusers and the accused to Rome, that the cause might be tried. Athanasius, accordingly, set out for Rome, but the calumniators refused to go because they saw that their falsehood would inevitably be detected. But perceiving that the flock of Athanasius was left without a pastor, they appointed over it a wolf instead of a pastor. Gregory, for this was his name, surpassed the wild beasts in deeds of cruelty and ferocity, and during six years⁴

¹ ὁμοούσιος.

² A town of Thrace on the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea.

³ Valesius says that it is doubtful to what law or canon reference is here made, and suggests that it may possibly be to one which forbade sentence to be pronounced until both parties had been heard. It is more probable that Theodoret refers to the ancient practice of all churches, to appeal in matters of dispute to the authority of the Roman see. Compare Socrat. Eccl. Hist. b. i. chaps. 8, 15, and 24.

⁴ Theodoret here incidentally corrects the account given by Sozomen and Socrates, who relate that Gregory was deposed very soon after his promotion to the bishopric.

he grievously oppressed the flock: but at the expiration of that period, he was destroyed by the flock.¹ Athanasius went to Constantius, (Constantine, the eldest brother, having fallen in battle,) and complained of the plots laid by the Arians against him, and of their opposition to the apostolical faith. He did not fail to remind him of his father's having attended the general council in person, and of his having confirmed by an express law all the decrees which were there issued. The emperor was excited to emulation by hearing these commendations of his father's zeal. He wrote to his brother exhorting him to preserve inviolate the religion of their father, which ought by right of inheritance to be theirs also; for it was by his piety that Constantine had strengthened his empire, expelled the tyrants of Rome, and subjugated the barbarians. Constans was induced by this letter to summon the bishops from the east and from the west to Sardica, which was a city of Illyria, and the metropolis of Dacia, that they might deliberate on the means of removing the numerous troubles of the church.

CHAP. V—PAUL, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

PAUL, bishop of Constantinople, who faithfully maintained orthodox doctrines, was accused by the Arians of having excited seditions, and of having committed the other crimes which they usually laid to the charge of all those who preached true piety. The people, who feared the machinations of his enemies, would not permit him to go to Sardica.² The Arians, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperor, procured from him an edict of banishment against Paul, who was, accordingly, sent to Cucusum, a little town formerly included in Cappadocia, but which now forms part of Lesser Armenia. But these disturbers of the public peace were not satisfied with having driven the admirable Paul into a desert. They sent agents of their cruelty to despatch him by a violent death. St. Athanasius testifies to this fact in the defence which he wrote of the flight of Paul. He uses the following

¹ A. D. 349, Tillemont; A. D. 346, Mansi.

² Theodoret here corrects Socrates and Sozomen, who make Paul to have been the companion of Athanasius, when he fled to Constans for protection.

words: "They pursued Paul, bishop of Constantinople, and having seized him at Cucusum, a city of Cappadocia, they had him strangled, by order of Philip the pro-consul, who was the protector of their heresy, and the active agent of their most atrocious projects. Such were the murders to which the blasphemy of Arius gave rise. A virulent opposition was raised by this faction against the only begotten Son of God, and his servants were not spared."

CHAP. VI.—THE HERESY OF MACEDONIUS.

THE Arians, having effected the death of Paul, or rather having despatched him to the kingdom of heaven, gave his bishopric to Macedonius, who, they imagined, held the same sentiments and belonged to the same faction as themselves, because he also blasphemed the Holy Ghost. But, shortly after, they deposed him, because he refused to call him a creature whom the Holy Scriptures affirm to be the Son of God. After his ejection, he became the leader of a sect of his own. He taught that the Son of God is not of the same substance as the Father, but that he resembles Him in every particular. He also affirmed that the Holy Ghost is a creature. These circumstances occurred not very long ago in the precise manner in which we have narrated them.

CHAP. VII.—COUNCIL HELD AT SARDICA.

TWO hundred and fifty bishops¹ assembled at Sardica, (A. D. 347 *al.* 344,) as is proved by ancient archives. The great Athanasius, Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, already mentioned, and Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, who had held this bishopric ever since the council of Nice, all repaired thither. The calumniators, and the chiefs of the Arian faction, who had judged the cause of Athanasius, also attended. But when they found that the members of the synod were firmly attached to divine and sound doctrines, they would not even enter the council, although they had been summoned to it; and they fled from the city in much trepidation. All these circumstances are far more clearly explained in a letter drawn up by the council; and I shall therefore now insert it.

¹ See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. ii. 20, and the notes of Valesius in loco.

CHAP. VIII.—SYNODICAL LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED AT SARDICA, ADDRESSED TO THE OTHER BISHOPS

"THE holy council assembled at Sardica, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Campania, Calabria, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Dardania, Lesser Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Thrace, Rhodope, Asia, Caria, Bithynia, the Hellespont, Phrygia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Pontus, another Phrygia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lydia, the Cyclades, Egypt, Thebes, Libya, Galatia, Palestine, and Arabia, to the bishops throughout the world, our fellow-ministers in the catholic and apostolic church, and our beloved brethren in the Lord. Peace be unto you.

"The infatuation of the Arians has often led them to the perpetration of violent atrocities against the faithful servants of God; they introduce false doctrines themselves, and persecute those who uphold orthodox principles. So violent was their opposition to the faith, that it reached the ears of our beloved emperors. Through the grace of God, the emperors have summoned us from different provinces and cities to the holy council which they have appointed to be held in the city of Sardica, in order that all dissensions may be terminated, all evil doctrines repressed, and the religion of Christ alone established amongst all people. Some bishops from the East have attended the council at the solicitation of our most religious emperors, principally on account of the reports circulated against our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Perhaps the Arians have already tried to make you believe their groundless accusations of the innocent, and no doubt have endeavoured to prevent any suspicion being excited in your mind of the depraved heresy which they uphold: but they have not long been permitted so much freedom of action. The Lord is the Protector of the church; for it and for us all he suffered death, and opened for us the way to heaven.

"The adherents of Eusebius, Maris, Theodore, Theognis, Ursacius, Valens, Menophantes, and Stephen,¹ have fre-

¹ Athanasius, in his Second "Apolog. contr. Arianos," makes mention of Eusebius only. Valesius thinks that several besides Eusebius joined in the letters to Julius, but he exempts Menophantes and Stephen.

quently written to Julius, the bishop of Rome, and our fellow-minister, against our aforesaid fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Some other bishops¹ wrote to Julius, testifying the innocence of Athanasius, and proving that all that had been asserted by the partisans of Eusebius was nothing more than falsehood and calumny. The refusal of the Arians to obey the summons of our beloved brother and fellow-ruler, Julius, and also the letter written by that bishop, clearly prove the falseness of their accusation. For they would have gone to Rome had they believed that what they had done and represented against our fellow-minister admitted of justification. But their mode of procedure in that great and holy council is a manifest proof of their fraud. For when, upon their arrival at Sardica, they perceived that our brethren, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and others, were there also, they were afraid of entering the council, although they had been summoned to attend it, not once or twice only, but repeatedly; and although they were expected by the assembled bishops, who were all worthy of honour and respect, particularly the venerable Hosius, on account of his advanced age, his adherence to the faith, and his labours in the church. Their refusal to attend the council, and their ignominious flight from it, prove more forcibly than any arguments the inaccuracy of their representations, and the duplicity of their designs.

“Those who are confident of the truth of their assertions are always ready to avow them openly. But as these accusers would not appear to substantiate what they had advanced, any future allegations which they may by their usual artifices bring against our fellow-ministers, will only be regarded as proceeding from a desire of slandering them in their absence, not daring to confront them openly. They fled, beloved brethren, not only because they dared not avow their own calumnies, but also because they knew that they could not refute the accusations which would be brought against them. They were charged with having used chains, and the sword, as the engines of their cruelty. Several individuals were pre-

¹ The allusion probably is to the letter of the bishops of Egypt, addressed to Julius and to all the bishops of the Catholic Church, of which mention is made by Athanasius, *ubi sup.*

sent whom they had exiled: others came forward as deputies from those still kept in exile. The relations and friends of those whom they had put to death also attended: and what was of most importance, bishops also appeared against them; one of whom exhibited the irons and the chains with which they had bound him. There were also witnesses to testify that the death of many others had been occasioned by their calumnies. Their infatuation led them to such excesses that they even attempted the life of a bishop; and he would have fallen a sacrifice to their fury, had he not escaped from their hands. Theodulus, our fellow-minister, of blessed memory, died¹ while striving to make his escape from them; for, on account of their calumnies, he had been condemned to death. Some showed the wounds which the swords of these persecutors had inflicted on them; others deposed that they had been exposed to the torments of famine.

"All these depositions were made, not by a few obscure individuals, but by whole churches; the presbyters of these churches clearly proving that the persecutors had excited the military against their enemies, that they had armed the people for the same purpose, and that they endeavoured to terrify them into subjection by judicial threats, and by the production of spurious documents.

"Letters were read which had been written by Theognis, for the purpose of prejudicing the emperor against our fellow-ministers, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas. This was attested by those who had formerly been the deacons of Theognis. It was also proved that they had denuded virgins, burnt churches, and imprisoned our fellow-ministers, and all for no other purpose than to support the infatuated principles of Arianism, and to take vengeance on those who refused to be associated with them. The consciousness of having committed all these crimes threw them into great perplexity. Intent upon concealing their culpability, they repaired to Sardica, thinking that their boldness in venturing thither would efface all suspicion of their guilt. But when they perceived that those whom they had falsely accused, and also those who had suffered much from their cruelty, were present; and that likewise several had come forward with various irrefragable accusations against them, they would not enter the

¹ ἀντίστην "Recessit, vel sedem suam reliquit," morte sol.

council, although our fellow-ministers, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, took every means to induce them to attend ; proposing not only to prove the fraudulency of the accusations they had advanced, but also to demonstrate the truth of those which were laid to their charge, and likewise to show how deeply they had injured their churches. But they were so utterly overwhelmed by the terrors of conscience, that they took to flight, and by this flight was clearly proved the falsity of their accusations, as well as their own guilt. But though their calumny and perfidy, which had indeed been apparent from the beginning, were now clearly perceived, yet we determined to examine the circumstances of the case according to the laws of truth, lest they should, from their very flight, derive pretexts for renewed acts of deceitfulness.

“ Upon carrying this resolution into effect, we proved by their actions that they were calumniators, and that they had formed artful designs against our fellow-ministers. Arsenius, whom they declared had been put to death by Athanasius, is still living.¹ This fact alone is sufficient to show that their other allegations are false. Although they spread a report everywhere that a chalice had been broken by Macarius, one of the presbyters of Athanasius, yet those who came from Alexandria, from Mareota, and from other places, testified that this was not the fact ; and the bishops in Egypt wrote to Julius, our fellow-minister, declaring that there were no data for harbouring the least suspicion that such a deed had been committed.

“ The memorials which the Arians pretend to possess against Macarius, have been all drawn up by one party : and in these documents the depositions of Pagans and of Catechumens were included. One of these Catechumens, when interrogated, replied, that he was in the church when Macarius entered it. Another deposed that Ischyra, on whom they had conferred so much celebrity, was then lying ill in his cell. Hence it appears that the mysteries could not have been celebrated at that time, as the Catechumens were present, and as Ischyra was absent ; for he was at that very time confined by illness. Ischyra, that wicked man who had falsely affirmed that Athanasius had burnt the sacred books, and had been convicted of the crime, now confessed that he was ill in bed

¹ Compare Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 29.

when Macarius arrived; hence the fraudulency of his accusation was clearly demonstrated. His calumny was, however, rewarded by his party; for he was made a bishop, although previously he had not even been raised to the priesthood. For two presbyters, who some time back had lived with Melitius, and were afterwards received by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and who are now with Athanasius, protested that he had never been ordained as an elder, and that Melitius had never ruled the church nor exercised any ministry in Marcota. Yet, although he had never been ordained as an elder, they promoted him to a bishopric, in order that his title might, by imposing upon the imaginations of those who heard it, lead to the reception of his false accusations.

"The writings of our fellow-minister, Marcellus, were also read, and plainly evinced the duplicity of the adherents of Eusebius; for what Marcellus had simply suggested as a point of inquiry, they affirmed that he had laid down as an established principle. The arguments which he had advanced, before and after the inquiry, were read, and his faith was proved to be orthodox. He did not affirm, as they represented, that the origin of the Word of God was dated from the conception of the holy Mary, or that his kingdom would have an end. On the contrary, he wrote that his kingdom had had no beginning, and would have no end. Asclepas, our fellow-minister, produced the memorials drawn up at Antioch in the presence of the accusers, and of Eusebius, bishop of Casarea; and proved his innocence by the sentence of the bishops who had presided as judges. It was not then without cause, beloved brethren, that, although so frequently summoned, they would not attend the council; it was not without reason that they took to flight. The reproaches of conscience constrained them to make their escape, and thus, at the same time, to demonstrate the groundlessness of their calumnies, and the truth of those accusations which were advanced and proved against them. Besides all the other grounds of complaint, it may be added, that all those who had been accused of holding the Arian heresy, and had been ejected in consequence, were not only received, but advanced to the highest dignities by them. They raised deacons to the office of the presbytery; and the presbyters who had been deposed, they promoted to the dignity of bishops;¹ and

¹ The ground of complaint here is, not that they had promoted some

in all this they were actuated by no other motive than the desire of propagating their heresy, and of corrupting the faith.

“Next to Eusebius, the following are their principal leaders: Theodore, bishop of Heraclea, Narcissus, bishop of Neroniades in Cilicia, Stephen, bishop of Antioch, George, bishop of Laodicea, Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus in Asia, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Moesia, and Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia. All these bishops would not permit those who came with them from the east to attend the holy council, nor to join the church of God; for, while on their road to Sardica, they held private assemblies at different places, and formed a compact cemented by oaths, that when they arrived in Sardica they would not join the holy council, nor assist at its deliberations; but that, as soon as they had presented themselves, they would immediately make their escape by flight. These facts were made known to us by our fellow-ministers, Macarius, bishop of Palestine, and Asterius, bishop of Arabia, who came with them to Sardica, and have since been converted from infidelity. These bishops complained before the holy council of the violent treatment they had received from them, and of the want of correct principles evinced in all their actions. They added, that there were many amongst them who still held orthodox opinions, but that these were prevented from going to the council; and that sometimes threats and sometimes promises were resorted to, in order to retain them in that party. For this reason they were compelled to reside together in one house; and were never allowed, even for the shortest space of time, to be alone.

“It is not right to pass over in silence, and without mention, the calumnies, the imprisonments, the murders, the wounds, the insidious letters, the indignities, the denudation of virgins, the banishments, the destruction of churches, the acts of incendiarism, the translation of bishops from small towns to large dioceses, and above all, the opposition to the true faith, excited by the Arian heresy. On account then of all these crimes, we have to declare the innocence and purity of our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius,

presbyters of Arian sentiments to the episcopate, but that they had taken into communion, and had raised to a higher degree, men who had been lawfully and canonically deposed.

bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, and of all the other servants of God who are with them; and we have written to every diocese, in order that the people of each church may be made acquainted with the innocence of their respective bishops, and that they may anticipate their return, knowing that they have really the charge over them, while those who took possession of their churches are to be considered only as wolves. Among these latter may be instanced Gregory in Alexandria, Basil in Ancyra, and Quintius in Gaza. We added, that so far from looking up to those persons as bishops, the people are not even to call them Christians, nor to have any association with them, that they are not to receive any letters from them, nor to write to them.

"Theodore, bishop of Heraclea in Europe, Narcissus, bishop of Neroniades in Cilicia, Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Stephen, bishop of Antioch, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Mœsia, Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus, and George, bishop of Laodicea, were ejected from their bishoprics by the unanimous decision of the holy council: for though fear kept them back from leaving the East, they had been deposed by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, had imbibed the infatuation of the Arians, and had been charged with various crimes. We have decreed that they are unworthy not only of the episcopal dignity, but also of communion with us. For those who represent the Son as separated from the substance (*οὐσία*) and Divinity of the Father, and the Word as differing from the Father, ought to be separated from the Catholic Church, and be estranged from all who bear the name of Christians. Let them then be anathema to you, and to all the faithful, because they have corrupted the word of truth. For there is an apostolic precept which enjoins, that if any one should bring to you another gospel than that which ye have received, 'let him be accursed.'¹ Command that no one may hold communion with them; for light can have no fellowship with darkness. Avoid coming in contact with them; for what concord has Christ with Belial? Be careful, beloved brethren, that you neither write to them nor receive their letters. Endeavour, beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, to be present with

¹ Gal. i. 8.

us in spirit at the council, and give your hearty consent to what is enacted, while you affix your written signature, in order that unanimity of opinion may be established among all our fellow-ministers throughout the world.¹ We declare that those are to be excommunicated from the Catholic Church who say that Christ is God, but not the true God ; that he is the Son, but not the true Son ; and that he is both begotten and unbegotten ;² for such persons understand the term ‘begotten’ to signify, they say, that which has been made. And although the Son of God existed before all ages, they attribute to him a beginning and an end, and yet admit that he existed before all time.

“ Valens and Ursacius have, like two vipers brought forth by an asp, proceeded from the Arian heresy. For they boastingly declare themselves to be most undoubted Christians, and yet they affirm that the Word and the Holy Ghost were both crucified and slain, and that they died and rose again ; and they pertinaciously maintain, like the heretics, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of diverse and distinct hypostases. We have been taught, and we hold the catholic and apostolic tradition and faith and confession which teach, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one hypostasis, which is termed essence (*οὐσία*) by the heretics. If it were asked, ‘What is the nature of the Son?’ we should confess, that it is the same as that of the Father ; for the Father has never been, nor could ever be, without the Son, nor the Son without the Father. It is most absurd to affirm that the Father ever existed without the Son, for that this could never be the case has been testified by the Son himself, who said, ‘I am in the Father, and the Father in me’ (John xiv. 10) ; and ‘I and the Father are one’ (John x. 30). We cannot deny that he was begotten ; but we say that he was begotten before all things, whether visible or invisible ; and that he is the Creator of archangels and angels, and of the worlds, and of the human species. It is written, ‘The wisdom

¹ In Athanasius and Hilarius the Epistle closes with these words, and the usual salutation is added. The rest Valesius rejects as spurious.

² *Γεννητός καὶ ἀγέννητος*. Valesius proposes to read *γεννητός ἐστιν ἅμα καὶ γενητός*. “Hæc enim erat hæresis Arianorum qui Filium Dei simul genitum (*γεννητόν*) et factum (*γενητόν*) esse dicebant ; et iis vocabulis, quæ unicâ literâ inter se discrepant, imperitis hominibus illudebant.”

which made all things has taught me ;' and again, ' All things were made by him ' (John i.).

" As the Word is said to have always existed, it is plain that He could have had no commencement ; for if he had had a beginning, he could not have always existed. God will never have an end. We do not say that the Father is the Son, nor that the Son is the Father ; but that the Father is the Father, and that the Son is the Son of the Father. We confess that the Son is the Power of the Father. We confess that the Son is the Word of God the Father, and that beside him there is no other. We believe the Word to be the true God, as well as wisdom and power. We affirm that he is truly the Son, yet not in the way in which men are said to be sons : for they are said to be the sons of God on account of their regeneration, or of their merit, and not on account of their being of one hypostasis with the Father, as is the Son. We confess that he is the only begotten Son ; for he has always been and always is in the Father. He is the Firstborn with respect to human nature. He differs from those who have received the new birth,¹ inasmuch as he is the Firstborn from the dead. We confess that there is but one God, and that the Divinity of the Father and of the Son is one. No one can deny that the Father is greater than the Son : this superiority does not arise from any difference in their nature, nor indeed from any diversity existing between them, but simply from the name of the Father being greater than that of the Son.

" The following words uttered by our Lord, ' I and the Father are one,' are by some persons explained as referring to the concord and harmony which prevail between the Father and the Son ; but this is a blasphemous and perverse interpretation. So far as we are Catholics, we have condemned this foolish and lamentable opinion ; for just as mortal men sometimes quarrel and afterwards are reconciled, so do such interpreters infer that disputes and dissension are liable to arise between God the Father Almighty and his Son ; a supposition which is altogether absurd and untenable. But we

¹ That is, from the baptized. Valesius, however, refers the term to the resurrection. He adds that the holy Fathers call Christ the Firstborn "juxta humanitatem;" and that although He is the Firstborn of men, yet that He surpasses all men on account of the glory of His resurrection from the dead.

believe and maintain that those holy words, 'I and the Father are one,' point out the oneness of the hypostasis, and the unity of the Father and of the Son. We also believe that the Son reigns with the Father, that his reign has neither beginning nor end, and that it is not bounded by time, nor subject to any contingencies; for what has always existed can never have commenced, and can never terminate. We recognise and we receive the Holy Ghost the Comforter, whom the Lord promised to send, and whom we believe has been sent. It was not the Holy Ghost who suffered. He who suffered was the Christ, who took the nature of man, and was born of the Virgin Mary. As man, he was capable of suffering: for man is mortal, whereas God is immortal. We believe that on the third day the man rose in God, but that God did not rise in the man; and that Christ presented the human nature which he had delivered from sin and corruption as a gift to the Father. We believe that in his own appointed time, he will judge all men and all their actions. So great is the ignorance and mental darkness of those whom we have mentioned, that they are unable to see the light of truth. They cannot comprehend the meaning of the following words, 'that they may be one in us.' It is obvious why the word 'one' was used; it was because the apostles received the Holy Spirit of God: yet there were none amongst them who were the Holy Ghost, neither was there any one of them who was the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, or the only begotten Son. 'As thou,' he said, 'and I are one, so let them be one in us.' These holy words, 'that they may be one in us,' are strictly accurate: for the Lord did not say, 'Let them be one in the same way that I and the Father are one,' but he said, 'Let the disciples be united together, and be one in faith, in doctrine, in the grace of God the Father, and in the love of our Lord Christ.'"

From this letter may be learnt the duplicity of the calumniators, and the injustice of the former judges, as well as the sound doctrines of those who attended the council. These holy fathers have taught us, not only truths respecting the Divine nature, but also doctrines relating to the redemption of man. Constans was much concerned on hearing of the weakness of his brother, and was highly incensed against those who had artfully taken advantage of it. He chose two of the bishops who had attended the council of Sardica, and sent

them with letters to his brother; he also despatched Salian,¹ a military chief who was celebrated for his piety and integrity, on the same embassy. The letters which he forwarded by them, and which were worthy of himself, contained not only entreaties and counsels, but also menaces. In the first place, he requested his brother to attend to all that the bishops might say, and to take cognizance of the crimes of Stephen and of his accomplices. He also required him to restore Athanasius to his flock; the calumny of the accusers and the injustice and impiety of his former judges having become evident. He added, that if he would not accede to his request, and perform this act of justice, that he would himself go to Alexandria, restore Athanasius to his flock which earnestly longed for him, and expel all opponents.

Constantius was at Antioch when he received this letter; and he agreed to submit to all his brother's² requisitions. But the enemies of the truth were so much displeased at this proceeding, that they resorted to execrable and impious machinations.

The two bishops resided near the foot of a mountain, while the military commander had settled in a lodging in another quarter.

CHAP. IX.—ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOPS EUPHRATAS AND VINCENTIUS, AND OF THE PLOT FORMED AGAINST THEM.

AT this period Stephen governed the church of Antioch, and had well nigh effected its destruction; for he employed several audacious tyrants as his ministers, who persecuted all those who maintained orthodox doctrines. The principal of these ministers was a young man of a rash and enterprising temperament, who led a very infamous life. He not only dragged away men from the market-place, and treated them with indignity and insult, but he had the audacity to enter private houses, whence he carried off men and women of irreproachable character. But not to give a detailed relation of his crimes, I shall merely mention his daring conduct towards the bishops; for this circumstance is alone sufficient to give an idea of the unlawful deeds of violence which he perpe-

¹ He was consul in the West A. D. 348. He is mentioned by Prudentius.

² ὁ τῶν ἁδελφῶν κοινωνός. Others understand by this term "the partner of his labours."

trated against the citizens. He went to a courtesan, and told her that some strangers had just arrived, who desired to pass the night with her. He placed fifteen men, attached to his faction, in ambush near a hedge close to the bottom of the mountain. He then went for the courtesan. After giving a preconcerted signal, they were admitted through the gate of the court-yard belonging to the inn where the bishops were lodging. The doors were opened by one of the household servants, who had been bribed by him: he conducted the woman into the house, and pointed out to her the door of the room occupied by one of the bishops, and desired her to enter. He then went to summon his accomplices. The door which he had pointed out happened to be that of Euphratas the elder bishop, whose room was situated near the vestibule. Vincentius, the other bishop, occupied a chamber more towards the centre of the house. When the courtesan entered the room of Euphratas, he heard the sound of her footsteps, and he asked who was there, for it was then dark. She spoke to him, and Euphratas was much troubled: he thought that it was the devil imitating the voice of a woman, and he called upon Christ the Saviour for aid. Onager, for this was the name of the leader of this wicked band, (a name¹ peculiarly appropriate to him, as not only with his hands but with his feet he violently assaulted all the pious,) had in the mean time returned with his lawless crew; they loudly denounced as criminal all who expected future benefits from criminal judges. The noise aroused Vincentius and all the servants; they arose, and ran to the spot whence it proceeded. They closed the gate of the court-yard, and captured seven of the adversaries; but Onager with the others escaped by flight. The woman was committed to custody with those who had been seized. At the break of day the bishops apprized the military commander of what had occurred, and they all three proceeded together to the palace, to complain of the violence of Stephen; they stated that his guilt was so evident that no recourse either to law or to torture was requisite to prove it. The military commander loudly demanded of the emperor, that the atrocious act should not be brought before a synod, but that it should be left to the arbitration of the public court of justice. He offered to give up the clergy attached to the bishops to be first

¹ *ὄναγρος*, wild ass.

examined, provided that the agents of Stephen were subjected to the same course of interrogatories: but to this Stephen insolently objected, alleging that the clergy ought not to be examined by torture. The emperor and the principal persons present, decided that it would be better to judge the cause in the palace. The woman was first of all questioned; she was asked by whom she was conducted to the inn where the bishops were lodging. She replied, that a young man came to her, and told her that some strangers had arrived, who were desirous of her company, and that in the evening he conducted her to the inn; that he summoned his band of soldiers, led her into the house, and desired her to go into the chamber adjoining the vestibule. She added, that the bishop asked who was there, that he was much terrified, and that he began to pray; and that then others ran to the spot.

CHAP. X.—DEPOSITION OF STEPHEN.

AFTER the judges had heard these replies, they ordered the youngest of those who had been arrested to be brought before them. Before he was subjected to the examination by scourging, he confessed the whole plot, and stated that it was planned and carried into execution by Onager. This latter affirmed that he had only acted according to the commands of Stephen. The guilt of Stephen being thus demonstrated, all those who were present at the trial desired the bishops to depose him, and expel him from the church. By his expulsion the church was not, however, freed from the evils of Arianism. Leontius,¹ who succeeded him in his bishopric, was a Phrygian of so subtle and artful a disposition, that he might be said to resemble the sunken rocks of the sea. We shall presently narrate more concerning him. The emperor Constantius, finding by experience what plots were formed against the bishops, wrote to the great Athanasius three different times, exhorting him to return from the West. I shall here insert the second letter, because it is the shortest of the three.

¹ This person is always mentioned by Athanasius as one of the Arian prelates. He was an ἀποκόπτης, (castratus,) but it is doubtful whether he was from Antioch or Alexandria.

CHAP. XI.—CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS THE CONQUEROR TO
ATHANASIUS.

“ALTHOUGH I have already apprized you by previous letters, that you can, without fear of molestation, return to our court, that you may, according to my ardent desire, be reinstated in your own bishopric, yet I now again despatch another letter to you, to exhort you to take immediately, without fear or suspicion, a public vehicle and return to us, in order that you may receive all that you desire.”

CHAP. XII.—THE SECOND RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS FROM
EXILE.

WHEN Athanasius returned, Constantius received him with kindness, and restored to him his former authority over the church of Alexandria. But there were some attached to the court who were infected with the errors of Arianism ; and they suggested that Athanasius ought to cede one church to those who were unwilling to hold communion with him. On this being mentioned to the emperor, he interrogated Athanasius on the subject. Athanasius replied, that the imperial command appeared to be just ; but that he also wished to make a request. The emperor readily promising to grant him whatever he might ask, he begged that a church might be given to those in Antioch who objected to hold communion with the members of the principal church ; for justice required that a place of worship should also be given to them. This request was deemed just and reasonable by the emperor ; but those of the Arian faction prevented its being carried into execution, alleging that churches ought not to be supplied to different parties. Constantius, after having had cause to regard Athanasius with high admiration, sent him to Alexandria. Gregory was dead, and Athanasius was received with joy. Public festivals were celebrated in honour of the pastor, and in commemoration of his return, and thanks were rendered to God. The death of Constans occurred a short time subsequently.

CHAP. XIII.—THIRD EXILE AND FLIGHT OF ATHANASIUS.

THOSE who had obtained entire ascendancy over the mind of Constantius, reminded him that Athanasius had been the

cause of differences between him and his brother, which had nearly led to the rupture of the bonds of nature, and the kindling of a civil war. Constantius was induced by these representations not only to banish, but also to condemn, the holy Athanasius to death; and he accordingly despatched Sebastian, a military commander, with some of the soldiery, to slay him, as if he had been a criminal. The manner in which he escaped from the soldiers, avoiding this eminent danger by flight, is best narrated by himself. The following is the account which he gives in his apology for his flight:—"Let the mode of my retreat be investigated, and let the testimony of the opposite faction be collected. Some Arians accompanied the soldiers, as much for the purpose of urging them on, as of pointing me out to them. If the relation I am about to make do not excite their commiseration, it will, at least, render them ashamed. It was night, and some of the people were keeping watch, and awaiting the hour for the meeting of the assembly. An army suddenly advanced upon them, consisting of a general and five thousand armed men with naked swords, bows and arrows, and clubs, as I have already stated. The general ordered the soldiers to surround the church, in order that those who might be in it might be prevented from leaving it. I imagined that I ought not in such a time of perplexity to leave the people, but that I ought rather for their sake to meet the danger; so I remained on my seat, and desired the deacon to read a psalm, and the people to respond,¹ 'His mercy endureth throughout all ages;' after which, I directed that they should all return to their own houses. But the general with the soldiery forced their way into the church and went up to the altar in order to arrest me;² the clergy and the laity who had remained clamorously besought me to make my escape. I firmly refused to do so until all the others had retreated. I rose, had a prayer offered, and directed all the people to retire; 'It is better,' said I, 'for me to meet the danger alone, than that any of our people should experience the least injury.' When the greater number of

¹ ὑπακούειν or ὑπηχεῖν. The technical term for uttering the responses in the church.

² Athanasius was seated in his archiepiscopal chair at the altar among his clergy, but elevated above the rest. Hence the word ἀνελθόντες in this passage.

the people had left the church, and just as the rest were following, the monks and some of the clergy who had remained led me out. And I testify as before the Lord who led me and who protected me, that we passed through the midst of the soldiers, some of whom were stationed around the altar, and others were marching about the church. We thus went out unperceived, and fervently glorified God that we had not abandoned the people, but that after they had been sent away in safety, we were permitted to escape from the hands of those who sought our life."

CHAP. XIV.—EVIL AND DARING DEEDS COMMITTED BY GEORGE
IN ALEXANDRIA.

ATHANASIUS having thus escaped from the cruelty of his sanguinary adversaries, George, who was truly another wolf, was intrusted with the superintendence of the flock. He inflicted on the sheep cruelties more atrocious than would have been perpetrated by a wolf, a bear, or a leopard. He compelled young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, not only to disown the communion of Athanasius, but also to condemn the faith of the fathers. The agent in his cruelty was Sebastian the military chief. He ordered a fire to be kindled in the centre of the city, and placed the virgins, who were stripped entirely naked, close to it, commanding them to deny the faith. Although they formed a most sorrowful and pitiable spectacle for believers as well as for unbelievers, they considered that all these dishonours conferred the highest honour on them; and they joyfully received the blows inflicted on them on account of their faith. All these facts are more clearly narrated by their own pastor.

About the period of the year termed Quadragesima, George returned from Cappadocia, and greatly added to the evils which had been already perpetrated. After the Easter week virgins were cast into prison, bishops were bound and dragged away by the soldiers, the houses of widows and of orphans were pillaged, and the Christians were, during the darkness of night, seized and torn away from their dwellings. Seals were fixed on many houses. The brethren of the clergy became uneasy on their account. These cruelties were very atrocious,

but still more so were those which were subsequently perpetrated. The week following the holy festival of Pentecost, the people who were keeping a fast assembled in the churchyard to pray that they might be delivered from all communion with George. This wicked man was informed of this circumstance, and he excited Sebastian, the military commander belonging to the Manichean sect, to attack the people; and, accordingly, on the Lord's day he rushed upon them with a large body of armed soldiers wielding naked swords, bows, and arrows. He found but a few Christians in the act of praying, for most of them had retired on account of the lateness of the hour. He committed such cruelties as might be expected from one who was acting under the direction of such employers. He ordered a large fire to be lighted, and the virgins to be brought close to it, and then commanded them to declare themselves of the Arian persuasion. When he perceived that they were invincible, he ordered them to be stripped naked, and to be beaten until they became scarcely recognisable. He then seized forty men, and inflicted on them a new species of torture. He ordered them to be scourged with branches of palm trees; and the thorns were driven so deeply into their flesh, that it was long before they could be extracted by the surgical operations which were afterwards resorted to; and those who were not able to bear the agony died under it. He banished all those who survived, and also the virgins, to the Greater Oasis. He refused to give up the bodies of those who had been killed to their relations for sepulture; his partisans concealed some of these corpses, and others they flung away without a tomb, in order to show that they were unconcerned in these cruel transactions, and ignorant of them. But they were deceived in this foolish expectation: for the friends of the slain, while they rejoiced at the faithfulness of the deceased, deeply lamented the loss of the corpses, and spread abroad a full account of the cruelty that had been perpetrated.

The following bishops were banished from Egypt and from Libya:—Ammon, Muius, Caius, Philo, Hermes, Pliny, Psinosis, Nilammon, Agapius, Anagamphus, Mark, Draco, Adelpus, another Ammon, another Mark, and Athenodorus; and also the presbyters, Hierax and Dioscorus. They were all driven into exile in so cruel a manner that many died on the

road, and others at the place of their banishment. The persecutors caused the death of more than thirty bishops. For, like Achab, they were actuated by no other zeal than that of banishing the truth, had it been possible.

Athanasius, in a letter addressed to the virgins who were treated with so much barbarity, uses the following words: "Let none of you be grieved on account of these impious heretics having prohibited the honours of sepulture from being rendered to you. The impiety of the Arians has reached such a height, that they block up the entrances, and sit like so many demons round the places of sepulture in order to prevent the dead from being interred." These and many other similar atrocities were perpetrated by George in Alexandria.

The holy Athanasius was well aware that there was no place which could be considered a place of safety for him; for the emperor had promised a very large reward to whoever should bring him alive or dead into his presence.

CHAP. XV.—COUNCIL OF MEDIOLANUM (MILAN).

AFTER the death of Constans, Magnentius assumed the chief authority over the Western empire; and, to repress his usurpation, Constantius repaired to Europe. But this war, severe as it was, did not put an end to the war against the church. The Arians, who found it easy to persuade Constantius to take any step which they pleased, and who had accordingly induced him to attach himself to the errors of heresy, now persuaded him to convoke a council at Milan, a city of Italy, and to compel all the assembled bishops to sign the deposition enacted by the iniquitous judges at Tyre; and, as Athanasius had been expelled from the church, to draw up another confession of faith. The bishops repaired to the council on the receipt of the imperial letter. But they were far from acting according to the directions of the emperor. On the contrary, they told him that what he had commanded was unjust and impious; for this act of courage they were expelled from the church, and banished to the farthest boundaries of the empire.

The admirable Athanasius thus mentions this circumstance in his defence:—"Who can narrate such atrocities as they

perpetrated? A short time ago when the churches were in the enjoyment of peace, and just as the people were assembled for prayer, Liberius, bishop of Rome, Paulinus, bishop of the metropolis of Gaul, Dionysius, bishop of the metropolis of Italy,¹ Lucifer, bishop of the metropolis of the Isle of Sardinia, and Eusebius, bishop of one of the cities of Italy, who were all exemplary bishops and preachers of the truth, were seized and driven into exile, for no other cause than because they could not coincide in the Arian heresy, nor sign the false accusation which had been framed against us. It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for every one knows that he also has been sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What church does not still enjoy the glorious effects of his ministration? Did any one ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Who ever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of their calumnies, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us."

From the above narrative will be seen the violence of the Arians against these holy men. Athanasius also gives in the same book an account of the numerous plots formed by the chiefs of the Arian faction against other individuals:—"Did any one," said he, "against whom they had once commenced a series of persecutions, ever escape from them without suffering severe injury? Whose life did they ever seek without eventually subjecting him to the most agonizing death, or else to the mutilation of all his limbs? The executions commanded by the judges are all attributable to these heretics; for the judges are but the agents of their will, and of their malice. Where is there a place which contains no vestiges of their atrocities? If any one ever differed from them in opinion, did they not invariably, like Jezebel, falsely accuse and oppress him? Where is there a church which has not been plunged in sorrow by their subtlety? Antioch has to mourn the loss of Eustathius, that faithful and orthodox

¹ Treves and Milan are here meant, as they were at this time the metropolitan cities of Gaul and Italy respectively.

bishop. Balana has to lament on account of Euphration ; Paltus and Antaradus on account of Cymatius and Carterius. Adrianople was called to deplore the loss of the well-beloved Eutropius, and of Lucius his successor, who was loaded with chains, and expired beneath their weight. Ancyra, Berea, and Gaza had to mourn the absence of Marcellus, Cyrus,¹ and Asclepas, who, after having suffered many insults from this deceitful sect, were driven into exile. Some of these heretics were sent in quest of Theodulus and Olympius, bishops of Thrace, as well as of me and of the presbytery of my diocese ; and had they found us, we should no doubt have been put to death. But at the very time that they were planning our destruction we effected our escape, although they had sent letters to Donas, the proconsul, against Olympias, and to Philagrius against us."

Such were the crimes of this impious faction against the most holy Christians. Hosius was the bishop of Corduba, and was the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the council of Nice, he also obtained the first place among those convened at Sardica.

I intend to insert in this work an account of the admirable arguments addressed by the far-famed Liberius in defence of the truth to the emperor Constantius. They are recorded by some of the pious men of that period in order to stimulate others to the exercise of similar zeal in divine things. Liberius had succeeded Julius, the successor of Silvester, in the government of the church of Rome.

CHAP. XVI.—CONFERENCE BETWEEN LIBERIUS BISHOP OF ROME, AND THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS.

CONSTANTIUS.—" We have judged it right, as you are a Christian and the bishop of our city, to send for you in order to admonish you to abjure all connexion with the folly and wickedness of Athanasius. For it was in this light that his conduct was viewed by the whole world, when he was separated from the communion of the church by the synod."

LIBERIUS.—" O emperor, ecclesiastical sentences ought to be enacted with justice : therefore, if it be pleasing to your

¹ See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 24. He impeached Eustathius of Sabellianism, but was not free from suspicion of the same heresy himself.
[THEODORET.]

piety, order the judges to assemble; and if it be seen that Athanasius deserves condemnation, then let sentence be passed upon him according to ecclesiastical forms. No man ought to be condemned without being examined."

CONSTANTIUS.—"The whole universe has condemned him; but he, as he has done from the very first, does but trifle away time."

LIBERIUS.—"Those who signed the condemnation were not eye-witnesses of anything that occurred; but were actuated by the desire of glory, and by the fear of ignominy."

THE EMPEROR.—"What glory did they desire? What ignominy did they fear?"

LIBERIUS.—"Those who love not the glory of God, but who attach greater value to your gifts than to his glory, have condemned a man whom they have neither seen nor judged: this is very contrary to the principles of Christians."

THE EMPEROR.—"Athanasius was present at the council of Tyre, when he was judged and condemned by all the bishops of the world."

LIBERIUS.—"No judgment on his conduct has ever been passed while he was present. Those who were there assembled condemned him without cause after he had retired."

EUSEBIUS THE EUNUCH.—"It was demonstrated at the council of Nice,¹ that he held opinions entirely at variance with the catholic faith."

LIBERIUS.—"Of all those who sailed with Ischerus to Maraeotis, and who were sent with memorials against the accused,² five only delivered the accusation against him. Of the five who were thus sent, two are now dead, namely, Theognis and Theodore. The three others, Maris, Valens, and Ursacius, are still living. Sentence was passed at Sardica against all those who were sent for this purpose to Maraeotis. They presented a petition³ to the council, soliciting pardon for having drawn up at Maraeotis memorials con-

¹ Valesius remarks upon the folly of Eusebius, in asserting that Athanasius at Nicæa spoke on the Arian side; an assertion which in fact refutes itself. He adds, "Nescio quid sibi voluerit hic Eunuchus: stultus stulta loquitur."

² The truth of this assertion has been disputed. But the fact is as follows. five bishops were sent to Mareotis by the synod held at Tyre, to take cognizance of the frivolous charge brought against Athanasius.

³ We are to understand the "Libellus satisfactionis" offered to Julius

sisting of false accusations and depositions of only one party. This petition is still in our hands. Whose cause are we to espouse, O emperor? With whom are we to hold communion? With those who first condemned Athanasius, and then solicited pardon for having condemned him, or with those who have condemned these latter?"¹

EPICETUS THE BISHOP.—"O emperor, it is not on behalf of the faith, nor in defence of the ecclesiastical judgments, that Liberius is pleading; but merely in order that he may boast before the Roman senators of having, by his arguments, turned the emperor from his purpose."

THE EMPEROR (*addressing Liberius*).—"What portion do you constitute of the universe, that you desire to destroy the peace of the whole world, in order to defend one solitary wicked individual?"

LIBERIUS.—"If I were standing alone, the cause of truth would not be less important. There was once a period when only three persons could be found sufficiently courageous to resist the royal mandate."

EUSEBIUS THE EUNUCH.—"You compare our emperor to Nebuchadnezzar."

LIBERIUS.—"By no means. But you rashly condemn a man without any previous examination. What I desire is, in the first place, that a confession of faith be signed, confirming that drawn up at the council of Nice. And secondly, that all our brethren be recalled from exile, and reinstated in their own bishoprics. If, when all this has been carried into execution, it can be shown that the doctrines of those who now fill the churches with trouble are conformable to the apostolic faith, then we will all assemble at Alexandria to meet the accusers, the accused, and their defenders, and after having examined the cause, we will pass judgment upon it."

EPICETUS THE BISHOP.—"There are not sufficient public vehicles to convey so many bishops."

LIBERIUS.—"Ecclesiastical affairs can be transacted without public vehicles. No churches are unable to provide means for the conveyance of their respective bishops by sea."

by Ursacius and Valens, not at the council of Sardica, but at Rome, A. D. 349.

¹ That is, the fathers who composed the council of Sardica, and who condemned Ursacius and Valens.

THE EMPEROR.—“The sentence which has once been passed ought not to be revoked. The decision of the greater number of bishops ought to prevail. You alone retain friendship towards that impious man.”

LIBERIUS.—“O emperor, it is a thing hitherto unheard of, that a judge should accuse the absent of impiety, as if he were his personal enemy.”

THE EMPEROR.—“All without exception have been injured by him, but none so deeply as I have been. Not content with occasioning the death of my eldest brother, he endeavoured to excite Constans, of blessed memory, to enmity against me; and, had not his aims been frustrated by my moderation, he would have caused a violent contest between us. None of the victories which I have gained, not even excepting those obtained over Magnentius and Silvanus, appear so satisfactory to me as the ejection of this despicable man from the government of the church.”

LIBERIUS.—“Do not gratify your own hatred and revenge, O emperor, by the instrumentality of bishops; for their hands ought only to be raised for purposes of blessing and of sanctification. If it be consonant with your will, command the bishops to return to their own residences; and if it appear that they can become of one mind with him who to this day maintains the true doctrines of the confession of faith signed at Nice, then peace will ensue throughout the world, and an innocent man will not serve as a mark for reproach.”

THE EMPEROR.—“One question only requires to be made. If you will enter into communion with the churches, I will send you back to Rome. Consent therefore to peace, and sign your assent, and then you shall return to Rome.”

LIBERIUS.—“I have already taken leave of the brethren who are in that city. The decrees of the church are of greater importance than a residence in Rome.”

THE EMPEROR.—“I will give you three days to consider whether you will sign the document and return to Rome; if not, you must choose the place of your banishment.”

LIBERIUS.—“Neither three days nor three months can change my sentiments. Send me wherever you please.”

After the lapse of two days, the emperor sent for Liberius, and finding his opinions unchanged, he commanded him to be banished to Berea, a city of Thrace. Upon the departure of

Liberius, the emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold¹ to defray his expenses. Liberius said to the messenger who brought them, "Go, and give them back to the emperor, he has need of them to pay his troops." The empress also sent him a sum of the same amount; he said, "Take it to the emperor, for he may want it to pay his troops; but if not, let it be given to Auxentius and Epictetus, for they stand in need of it." Eusebius the eunuch brought him other sums of money, and he thus addressed him: "After having converted all the churches of the world into deserts, do you bring alms to me, as to a criminal? Go, and become first a Christian."² He was sent into exile three days afterwards, without having accepted anything that was offered him.

CHAP. XVII.—BANISHMENT AND RETURN OF THE HOLY
LIBERIUS.

THIS illustrious champion of the faith was sent into Thrace according to the sentence that had been enacted. Two years after this event Constantius went to Rome. The ladies of rank urged their husbands to petition the emperor for the restoration of the shepherd to his flock: they added, that if this could not be conceded, the flock would go itself in quest of its great pastor. Their husbands replied, that they were afraid of incurring the resentment of the emperor. "If we were to ask him," they continued, "we should not succeed in obtaining the least concession; but if you were yourselves to present the petition, he would either accede to your request, or else dismiss you without injury." These noble ladies adopted this suggestion, and presented themselves before the emperor, after having adorned themselves in the most splendid attire, that their rank might be evident from their appearance, in order to insure greater respect and lenity. Having thus presented themselves before him, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its pastor and ravaged by wolves. The emperor replied, that the flock

¹ The original reading here is *ὀλοκοπτινούς*, a term whose meaning is uncertain. Sirmundus suggests *χρυσινούς*, and this latter reading we have adopted accordingly.

² The Catholics, as is evident from this passage, did not consider the Arians in the light of Christians. See Athanasius, Ep. ad Solitar. pp. 829, 831, 836.

possessed a pastor capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. After the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, named Felix, had been appointed bishop. He preserved inviolate the doctrines set forth in the Nicean confession of faith, yet he held communion with those who had corrupted that faith. For this reason none of the citizens of Rome would enter the church while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the emperor. Their persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be recalled from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the church. The edict of the emperor was read in the race-course, and the multitude shouted, that the imperial regulation was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colours, and that each faction would now have its own bishop. After having thus ridiculed the edict of the emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice, "There is but one God, one Christ, one bishop."¹ These were their precise words. Some time after this Christian people had uttered these pious and just acclamations, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city.

I have, for the sake of preserving order, appended this narrative to the history of the synod of Milan. I shall now return to the relation of events in their due course.

CHAP. XVIII.—COUNCIL OF RIMINI.

WHEN all who defended the faith had been removed, (A. D. 359,) those who impelled the mind of the emperor according to their own will, flattering themselves that the faith which they opposed might be easily subverted, and Arianism established in its stead, persuaded Constantius to summon bishops from the East and from the West to Rimini, and to command

¹ It was a universal rule in the church that there should be only one bishop in one see. Hence those who came back to the church from the Novatian heresy, recognised this truth, and alleged it as one of the reasons which made them abandon their position. Compare Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vi. 43, and the letter of Cornelius to St. Cyprian, among the Cyprianic Epistles. The only instance of two bishops in one see is in the case of a coadjutor appointed by a prelate on account of age or infirmity, or else where there happen to be two peoples speaking different languages in one city.

them to expunge the two terms *substance* and *consubstantial* from the formulary of the faith. These words were like two machines, invented by the fathers for the express purpose of destroying the deceitful errors of Arius; and they had in fact, as I have said, created a division in the church. After the bishops were all assembled, those who were infected with the principles of Arianism endeavoured to persuade and to deceive the others, particularly those from the West, who were the most simple. They said that the church ought not to be divided on account of two terms which are not to be found in the Holy Scriptures: that it ought rather to be said, that the Son is in all respects like the Father, omitting all mention of the unscriptural term *substance*. But the bishops discovered their deceitfulness, and ejected them from communion, and wrote to the emperor upon the subject, acquainting him with their opinions. They told him, that they were themselves the sons and successors of the fathers who assembled at Nice; and that if they either took away from or added to what had been enacted by them, they would create doubt as to the legitimacy of their descent, and would condemn their own fathers. Their letter to Constantius contains the clearest account extant of the articles of their belief.

CHAP. XIX.—SYNODICAL LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS CONVENED
AT RIMINI, ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS.

“WE believe¹ that it is by the help of God, and through your pious enactment, that so many² bishops are now assembled at Rimini from all the cities of the West, for the purpose of publicly recognising the faith of the catholic church, and of detecting heretics. For after having deeply reflected upon the subject, it seems right to us to adhere to the ancient faith, which was preached by the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles, through Jesus Christ our Lord, the Protector of your empire, and the Guardian of your own well-being. This faith we have always held, and we will adhere to it even to the end. It appeared absurd and impious to us to alter the orthodox and just declarations drawn up at Nice, by common consent of the bishops and of your father Constantine

¹ Compare Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. ii. ch. 37.

² More than 400. See Socrat. ubi supra.

of glorious memory. The doctrines then established were declared and preached to all men, and were used as the means not only of confuting the Arian heresy, but also of expunging all other heresies. Nothing could be altered in this formulary, without making room for the introduction of the deleterious poison of heretical doctrines. Ursacius and Valens were at one period suspected of having imbibed the Arian heresy, and were in consequence suspended from communion with us. They, however, afterwards petitioned for forgiveness, and promised amendment upon its being accorded. This is testified by their own writings, and by the pardon granted by the church at the time when the synod was convened at Milan, at which the presbyters of the church of Rome were present. We repeat, that we consider it absurd to make any innovations in that confession of faith, which was submitted to accurate examination in the presence of Constantine, and in the belief of which he was baptized, and entered into the eternal rest. Besides, this confession was held and signed by many holy confessors of the faith, and by martyrs, who adhered inviolably to the ancient decrees of the church. This faith has been preserved even to this present period, in which you have received from God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, the empire of the world.

"Some wretched individuals of disordered intellect have again had the boldness and audacity to preach impious doctrines, and are still endeavouring to overturn those doctrines which have been established according to all the principles of truth. For when we had assembled in council according to your edict, to deliberate on the doctrines of the faith, we were presented with a formulary drawn up by those disturbers of the peace of the church, with whom Germanius, Auxentius, and Caius are now associated. The doctrines set forth in this formulary were blasphemous. On its being rejected by the council, they endeavoured to make sundry alterations in it: this indeed they effected within a very short space of time. But in order that the church may not be subjected to further disturbance, it appeared right to us to preserve the ancient form of belief, and to suspend the persons above-mentioned from communion with us. We have sent despatches to acquaint your Majesty with these particulars; the sentiments of the council will be learnt from the letters. We have charged

these deputies to endeavour, above all things, to insure the firm and permanent establishment of the ancient doctrines. ~~We~~ have also enjoined upon them to acquaint you that what has been asserted by Ursacius and Valens, namely, that peace can be procured by the introduction of slight changes, is not true. How can peace be secured by those who have subverted it; and especially by those who have filled all the cities, and particularly the church of Rome, with disputes and troubles? Hence we beseech your clemency to give a gracious reception and a favourable hearing to our deputies, and not permit the dead to be injured by the mutation of those doctrines which, we are persuaded, were implanted in their minds by the Holy Ghost. For these innovations are not only grievous to believers, but likewise deter unbelievers from receiving the faith. We also beseech you to command that those bishops who are detained at Rimini, of whom some are suffering from the infirmities of age and the hardships of poverty, may be sent back to their own dioceses, in order that the churches may no longer be rendered desolate by the absence of their bishops. We now again beseech you that nothing may be added to, or taken away from, the faith; but that those doctrines, which were so carefully preserved during the reign of your father, may now and henceforth be suffered to remain unchanged. Do not in future permit us to be torn from our dioceses, and sent to distant regions; but allow the bishops to remain peaceably and undisturbed with their own people, that they may pray for the prosperity of your empire, for your own salvation, and for peace. Our deputies will present you with documents containing the signatures and the names of all the bishops."

The principal courtiers, who all favoured the Arian heresy, presented these documents to the emperor; but they would not permit the deputies to enter the palace, assigning as a reason to them, that the emperor was occupied with public affairs. They thus acted because they imagined that the bishops would be wearied by the length of time they were detained, and would become anxious to return to their own cities, thus abandoning all the advantages that they had gained against heresy. But this artifice did not succeed; for these noble defenders of the faith despatched another letter to the emperor, entreating him to receive their deputies, and to dismiss the council. I shall here insert their letter.

CHAP. XX.—ANOTHER LETTER ADDRESSED TO CONSTANTIUS.

"THE bishops assembled at Rimini to the emperor Constantius the conqueror.

"We have received the letter dictated by your clemency, most glorious potentate and emperor. It states that, from the pressure of public affairs, you have been unable to give audience to our deputies; you command us to wait for their return until you have heard from them what we have enacted in conformity to the doctrines of our forefathers. We again declare, that we have not swerved from our original determination;¹ and this we have also signified to our deputies. We beseech you to have these letters read to you, and graciously to listen to what our deputies have to declare to you from us. You must be as well aware as we are of the troubles resulting to churches from their being deprived of their bishops, and that too during so happy a reign as yours. Hence we again beseech you, most glorious emperor, to command us, if it be pleasing to your benevolence, to return to our churches before the rigour of winter sets in, that we may be able to unite with the people in offering prayers to God Almighty, and to Christ his Son our Lord and Saviour, for the preservation of your empire, even as we have done, and as we still do."

CHAP. XXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNCIL HELD AT NICE, A CITY OF THRACE, AND OF THE FORMULARY OF FAITH THERE COMPILED.

WHEN the emperor had received this letter, the Arians excited him to resentment, and compelled many of the bishops to repair to a city of Thrace called Nice. By means of deceiving those among them who were simple, and by persecuting the others, they persuaded them to effect that fraud against the church which they had so long devised, namely, to erase the terms *substance* and *consubstantial* from the formulary of faith, substituting that of *similar*. I shall here insert this formulary, not because it is a good one, but because it is opposed to the principles of the Arian faction; for the Arians

¹ In this, and in many other particulars, the version of Socrates differs considerably from the history as given by Theodoret. The reader will do well to compare the account in Socrates, *ubi supra*. See p. 103, note ¹.

of the present time have substituted the term *disimilar* for that of *similar*.

THE UNORTHODOX CONFESSION OF FAITH DRAWN UP AT
NICE, IN THRACE.

“We believe in one true God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things ; and in the only-begotten Son of God, begotten before all ages and before all commencement, by whom all things, whether visible or invisible, were made. He alone is the only-begotten Son of the one Father, God of God ; similar, according to the Scriptures, to the Father who begat him. His generation is known to no one, save to the Father of whom he was begotten. This we know, that the only-begotten Son was sent by the Father ; and that, as it is written, he came down from heaven to destroy sin and death ; and that he was, through the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary according to the flesh, even as it is written ; that he conversed with his disciples ; and that, after having fulfilled all the will of the Father, he was crucified and died, and was buried and descended into hell, which he filled with terror. We believe that he rose from the dead on the third day ; that he conversed with his disciples during forty days ; and that he then ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of the Father ; and that he will come again at the last day of the resurrection in the glory of the Father, to give to every one according to his deeds. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, who is the Comforter and the Spirit of Truth, whom the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, both God and Lord, promised to send to man, according to Scripture, and whom he did indeed send after he had ascended into heaven, and had sat down at the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. The word *substance*, which the fathers unwisely made use of, and which was not understood by the people, but which became to them a subject of offence, has been rejected by us, as it is not to be found in the Scriptures ; and no future allusion will be made to the substance of the Father and of the Son, because the Holy Scriptures do not anywhere make mention of this subject. Neither ought the nature of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even to be alluded to by any one. We say that the Son is similar to the Father, even as the Holy Scriptures declare

and teach. We pronounce anathema against all those heresies, whether previously condemned or recently arisen, which oppose this formulary of faith."

The signature of some of the bishops was obtained by compulsion, that of others by deceit. Those who refused to sign were banished to the extremities of the earth.

CHAP. XXII.—SYNODICAL LETTER FROM DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME, AND THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST, TO THE BISHOPS OF ILLYRIA, CONCERNING THE COUNCIL OF RIMINI.

THIS formulary was condemned by all the adherents of truth, and particularly by the bishops of the West, as is testified by their letter to the bishops of Illyria. This letter was signed by Damasus, the virtuous successor of Liberius in the government of the church of Rome, and likewise by ninety bishops from Italy and from the country of the Galatae, which is now called Gaul, who were then assembled in Rome. I should have inserted their names, had it not appeared superfluous to do so. The following is the letter written by them:—

"Damasus, Valens, and the other bishops assembled at the holy council held at Rome, to the beloved brethren the bishops of Illyria. Peace be unto you in the Lord.

"We believe that you adhere to that holy faith which is founded on the doctrines of the apostles, and is conformable to the opinions of the fathers, and that you preach it to the people; for the priests of God, whose vocation is to instruct others, ought not to depart from the truth. But we have heard from our brethren in Gaul and at Venice, that there are some who are zealous to introduce heresy; an evil which all the bishops are bound to guard against, as well as against whatever is contrary to true interpretation of doctrines, lest any should, from ignorance or from simplicity, be deluded, and be led to listen to those who devise new doctrines, instead of adhering to the faith of our fathers. Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was justly condemned on this very account. It is then right that all the teachers of the law throughout the Roman empire should be of one mind, and not destroy by disputes the unity of the faith. As soon as the evil of heresy began to reach that pitch which the Arian blasphemy has now

attained, three hundred and eighteen of our fathers were selected by the most holy bishop of Rome¹ to deliberate on the subject at Nice; and they then erected a wall against the weapons of the devil, and prepared an antidote against the deadly poison of heresy.] This antidote is the declaration that the Father and the Son have one substance, one divinity, one virtue, (*ἀρετή*,) one power, one character, (*καρὰκτὴρ*,) and that the Holy Ghost is likewise of the same hypostasis and substance. We have decided that those who advocate other opinions are to be excluded from communion with us. Certain individuals have endeavoured to pervert and to violate this salutary and excellent decision. But those who thus acted at the council of Rimini have since retracted, and have confessed that they were deceived; they stated that heretical doctrines were propounded in so specious a manner at that council, that they did not appear to be at variance with the decrees of our fathers at Nice. [The number of those assembled at Rimini ought not to occasion any prejudice against the truth, because they assembled without the sanction either of the bishop of Rome, whose opinion ought to have been consulted before that of any other bishop, or of Vincent, who had during so many years exercised the episcopal functions; and also without the consent of many others who held similar sentiments. And besides, those bishops who had been deluded, and who hence appeared to vacillate, testified, as soon as they became undeceived, that their own dereliction from better principles had really grieved them. You must now perceive, that the articles of faith settled at Nice, upon the authority of the apostles, ought to be firmly established, and that the bishops both of the East and of the West, who profess to be catholics, ought to take pride in preserving unity with us. We believe that, before long, those who hold sentiments at variance with ours will be excluded from communion with us, and be deprived of the very name of bishop, so that the people, being freed from their errors, may have liberty to breathe. The multitude cannot be liberated from error by those who cling to it themselves. Accord in opinion

¹ This paragraph is wanting in the codex of Sir H. Saville, and is not to be found in Sozomen or Epiphanius. But Valesius argues for its genuineness. We have admitted his emendation of *ἐπιλεκτοὶ* for *ἐπίσκοποι*, as obviously correct.

with the priests of God; we believe that you are in this respect firm and steadfast, but in order that we may not doubt it, gladden us by communicating this fact to us by letter. Farewell, much honoured brethren."

CHAP. XXIII.—LETTER FROM ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, RESPECTING THE SAME COUNCIL.

THE great Athanasius, in a letter addressed to the Africans, expressed similar opinions respecting the council of Rimini.

"After what has been so fully demonstrated," says he, "can any one name the council of Rimini, or any other council, in opposition to that of Nice? or is there any one who does not feel aversion towards those who set aside the decrees of the fathers, and substitute the new enactments extorted from the council of Rimini by contention and violence? Who would wish to associate with those who disapprove of their own transactions? For they have attended more than ten councils, and at each council they have compiled a different formulary, thus clearly confessing by each successive compilation their disapprobation of the preceding. They have fallen into the same evil as the Jews who betrayed our Lord. For, as those who abandoned the only spring of living water made unto themselves cisterns which could hold no water, even as it was written by the prophet Jeremiah, (Jer. ii. 13,) so these individuals had no sooner opposed the general council, than they made unto themselves many councils, which are all vain and useless, and which, like theatrical representations of similar assemblies, are utterly powerless. We must not, therefore, listen to those who speak of the council of Rimini, or of any other council, as superior to that of Nice. For those who make so much mention of the council of Rimini, cannot surely be acquainted with what took place at it, else they would be silent on the subject. You know, beloved brethren, for you have heard it from those of your province who attended the council of Rimini, that Ursacius, Valens, Eudoxius, and Auxentius, with whom Demophilus was associated, were deposed because they wished to introduce doctrines differing from those established at Nice. When they were asked to condemn the Arian heresy, they refused to do so, and declared themselves its defenders. Nearly two hun-

dred bishops, who were faithful servants of the Lord, and who adhered to the true faith, declared in writing, that they considered the Nicean formulary alone to be quite sufficient, and that they did not seek or believe either more or less than that which it contained. They declared the same things to Constantius, by whom the council had been convened. But those who had been deposed at Rimini repaired to Constantius, and caused the bishops who had condemned them to be treated with insult, and to be threatened with being prevented from returning to their own dioceses, and of being compelled to remain in Thrace throughout the winter, unless they would consent to the proposed innovations. Therefore, if any persons should dwell upon the superior authority of the council of Rimini, they ought first to be informed, that the bishops above-mentioned had been deposed; and, secondly, that the other bishops declared in writing that they sought nothing beyond what was included in the confession of faith drawn up by the fathers at Nice, and that they acknowledge the authority of no other council. But these circumstances are studiously concealed by such persons, and those decrees which were enacted in Thrace by force, are prominently brought forward. Hence it is clearly seen that they have imbibed the Arian heresy, and are estranged from the true faith. If the general council were to be placed in comparison with the councils preferred by the heretics, the piety of the one and the absurdity of the others would be very evident. The bishops convened at Nice had never been deposed; but they confessed that the Son is of the substance of the Father. Those who assembled at Rimini had been deposed, some twice, and others even three times, and yet they had the presumption to write that it ought not to be said of God that he had either a substance or a hypothesis."

Such were the frauds and artifices resorted to by the partisans of Arius in the West, against the doctrines of the truth.

CHAP. XXIV.—EVIL MACHINATIONS OF LEONTIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH: THE BOLDNESS OF FLAVIANUS AND OF DIODORUS.

AFTER Flaccillus, the successor of Stephen, had been ejected from the church, Leontius succeeded to the chief au-

thority in Antioch, contrary to the decrees of the Nicean council; for he was an eunuch, and had rendered himself such. St. Athanasius relates the cause of this act. Leontius had given rise to evil reports by frequenting the society of a young woman named Eustolia; he was therefore forbidden to hold further intercourse with her. He rendered himself an eunuch in order that he might enjoy her society without creating surmises. But he did not thus escape suspicion; and, as he was a priest, he was deposed. Athanasius thus described the other events of the life of Leontius. "I shall give a brief account of his deceitfulness and of his artifices. He participated in the errors of Arius, but carefully concealed his impiety. Perceiving that the clergy and laity were divided in opinion, and that when praise was offered to the Son, some introduced the conjunctive particle '*and*,' while others made use of the preposition '*by*' (*διὰ*) with reference to the Son,¹ and of '*in*' (*ἐν*) with reference to the Holy Ghost, he repeated the doxologies in an under tone of voice, so that those who were placed nearest him could only hear these words, '*for ever and ever.*' If so many proofs of his wickedness had not existed, it might have been said, that he did this simply with the design of restoring concord among the people. But his numerous and cruel machinations against the defenders of the truth, and the care and favour which he bestowed on those who had adopted impious principles, show plainly that he concealed his infatuated views from the fear of exciting the indignation of the multitude, and of incurring the severe penalties threatened by Constantius against all who should dare to affirm that the Son is dissimilar from the Father. He, however, manifested his sentiments by his actions. He never ordained or raised to any office of trust those who adhered to the apostolical doctrines, while those who clung to the Arian infatuation were allowed complete freedom of action, and were promoted to ecclesiastical dignities. About this time Aetius, who had added new errors to the Arian doctrines, was ordained deacon. But Flavianus and Diodorus, who had em-

¹ Compare Socrates, Eccl. Hist. ii. 21, and the notes of Valesius in loco.—Socrates defends the Arian usage by quoting the words of St. Paul in his Epistles, as for example, 1 Cor. i. 4, "Grace given you *by* Jesus Christ," and Eph. iii. 21, "Unto him be glory in the church *by* Christ Jesus."

braced the monastical mode of life, and who publicly defended the doctrines of the apostles, exposed the artifices of Leontius against religion, and showed how he had elevated to the rank of deacon a man who had imbibed the most corrupt principles, and who sought to render himself conspicuous by his impiety. They even threatened to withdraw themselves from ecclesiastical communion with him, and to go to the West in order to make known his plots. Leontius was terrified at these threats, and forbade Aëtius from performing the duties of the ministry; but in other respects he continued to patronize him. Although Flavianus¹ and Diodorus were not elevated to the rank of the priesthood, but were merely laymen, yet by night and by day they exhorted all men to be zealous in religion. They were the first who divided the choir and taught them to sing the Psalms of David responsively. This custom, which they thus originated in Antioch, spread everywhere, even to the very ends of the habitable world. These two men used to assemble the devout portion² of the people around the tombs of the martyrs, to sing throughout the whole night the praises of God. When Leontius became acquainted with this proceeding, he did not dare to prohibit it; for he perceived that these men were held in the highest estimation by the multitude on account of their virtues. He requested them in a mild and specious manner to perform this service in the church. They obeyed this injunction, although they perceived his evil motives, and willingly assembled in the church with those who shared in their love, in order to sing to the praise of the Lord. But nothing could abate the malice of Leontius. Under a mild and plausible exterior he concealed the deep iniquity of Stephen and of Flaccillus. He raised to the rank of priests and of deacons those who had embraced heretical doctrines, and who led a dissolute course of life. Those, on the contrary, who were adorned with every virtue, and who adhered to the apostolical faith, received no promotion from him. Hence many persons infected with heretical errors were thrust into the clerical office. Yet the greater part of the people continued attached to orthodox doctrines. Indeed

¹ See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. v. 9, 10, 15; and Theodoret, infr. iv. 25; v. 9.

² τοὺς τῶν θείων ἐραστάς. Valesius refers this term to the monks, a great body of whom were collected together by Flavian at Antioch.

[THEODORET.]

those upon whom the duty of teaching had devolved, did not dare to declare their blasphemous sentiments openly. It would take much space to recount the impiety and the acts of injustice perpetrated by Flaccillus, Stephen, and Leontius; the complaint of David is applicable to them, for he says, 'Lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate thee have lifted up the head. They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and have consulted against thy holy ones. They have said, Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation, that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.'"

We must now continue our history.

CHAP. XXV.—INNOVATIONS OF EUDOXIUS, BISHOP OF GERMANICA. HE IS ZEALOUSLY OPPOSED BY BASIL, BISHOP OF ANCYRA, AND BY EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF SEBASTE.

THE city Germanica is situated in Euphratia, a province bordering on Cilicia, Syria, and Cappadocia. When Eudoxius,¹ the bishop of this city, heard of the death of Leontius, he took forcible possession of the chief authority in Antioch, and ravaged the vineyard of the Lord like a wild boar. He did not, like Leontius, conceal by artifice the malignity of his disposition; but he openly and violently opposed the doctrines of the apostles, and persecuted all those who dared to resist him. At this period, Basil had succeeded Marcellus in the government of the church of Ancyra; and Eustathius was bishop of Sebaste, the capital of Armenia. These two bishops hearing of the violence and cruelty of Eudoxius, had the courage to write to the emperor Constantius on the subject. The emperor was then in the West, endeavouring to repair the injuries which the tyrants had inflicted on the country. They both possessed the favour and confidence of the emperor on account of their exemplary course of life.

CHAP. XXVI.—COUNCIL CONVOKED FIRST AT NICE, AND AFTERWARDS AT SELEUCIA IN ISAURIA.

UPON receiving this intelligence Constantius wrote to the citizens of Antioch, to acquaint them that he had not conferred the bishopric of their city upon Eudoxius, although a

¹ See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. ii. 19 and 37.

report had been spread to that effect. He ordered him to be expelled from the city, and desired sentence to be passed on him at Nice in Bithynia, where a council had been summoned. Eusebius had artfully arranged, through the intervention of those who held the chief appointments in the palace, that the council should be held at Nice. But the Ruler of the universe, to whom the future is as present as the past, prevented the meeting of the council by a most unexpected earthquake, which overthrew the greater part of the city, and destroyed a great number of the inhabitants. The bishops who had already arrived at the spot, were seized with terror, and returned to their respective churches. I believe that this was expressly ordained by the wisdom of God. For in this very city, where the doctrines of the apostolical faith had been signed by the Fathers, these latter bishops were about to publish other and contrary doctrines; and as the Arians would have taken advantage of the name of the council, and would have confounded the decrees there enacted with those passed at the ancient council of Nice in order to deceive the simple. He who watches over the interests of the church prevented the council from being held. A short time subsequently, Constantius, at the solicitation of the accusers of Eudoxius, appointed the council to be held at Seleucia, a city which lies near the sea, and which is the capital of Isauria. Thither were summoned the bishops of the East, those of Pontus, and those of Asia. During this period the church of Cæsarea in Palestine was governed by Acacius, who had succeeded Eusebius. Acacius had been deposed at the council of Sardica; but he, despising the great concourse of bishops assembled at that council, refused to submit to their sentence. Maximus succeeded Macarius, whom we have lately mentioned, in the government of the church of Jerusalem. He had distinguished himself by defending religion during the times of persecution, and had in this cause suffered the loss of his right eye and of his right arm. When he was called to enter upon a higher state of existence, his bishopric was conferred upon Cyril, a zealous defender of the apostolical doctrines. These bishops contended for priority;¹ and their contests occasioned

¹ *περὶ πρωτείων*. The origin of this contention lay, as Valesius remarks, in the 7th Canon of the Nicene Council, which preserved to the

the greatest evils throughout the whole church. Acacius had, under a very slight pretext, deposed Cyril, and expelled him from Jerusalem. Cyril, finding that there was no pastor at Antioch, repaired thither; thence he proceeded to Tarsus, and took up his abode with the admirable Silvanus, bishop of the city. Acacius, on being apprized of this circumstance, wrote to Silvanus, to inform him that Cyril had been deposed. But Silvanus revered the character of Cyril, and feared the people, who were much pleased with his teaching: he therefore did not prohibit him from exercising the functions of the ministry. When the council had assembled at Seleucia, Cyril took his place with Basil, Eustathius, and the other bishops. Acacius was also present at this council, which consisted of one hundred and fifty bishops. He stated that he would not assist in any deliberations until Cyril had quitted the council, because he had been deposed from the episcopal office. Some of the bishops who were desirous of peace besought Cyril to retire, promising that as soon as questions respecting doctrine had been determined, they would investigate his case. But Cyril would not accede to this request, and Acacius quitted the council. He went to Eudoxius, quieted his apprehensions, and emboldened him by promising to protect and to assist him. He prohibited him from going to the council, and took him to Constantinople.

CHAP. XXVII.—EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THE ORTHODOX BISHOPS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONSTANTIUS had been at Constantinople ever since his return from the West. Acacius laid before him many accusations against the bishops assembled at Seleucia, whom he represented as wicked men who were plotting the ruin and destruction of the church. The emperor was aroused to indignation. But that which most deeply incensed him was a false accusation which Acacius brought against Cyril, who, he said, had sold to an actor the sacred robe of golden cloth which the celebrated emperor Constantine had, to honour the church of Jerusalem, presented to Macarius, then bishop of Jerusalem his ancient dignity, though it recognised the metropolitan jurisdiction of the bishop of Cæsarea as supreme.

the city, that he might put it on whenever he administered the holy ordinance of baptism:¹ the actor who had purchased this robe appeared in it at the theatre, and suddenly fell down and expired. Acacius also told the emperor that the other bishops had associated this same Cyril with themselves in all their deliberations, and that they passed judgment on others according to his opinion. The principal courtiers seized this pretext to persuade the emperor to send for ten bishops only, and not to summon the whole council; for they were fearful lest unanimity of opinion might prevail in so great an assembly of bishops. Among the ten principal bishops who were summoned, were Eustathius, bishop of Armenia, Basil, bishop of Galatia, Silvanus, bishop of Tarsus, and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicum. Upon their arrival, they besought permission of the emperor to proceed at once to the investigation of the blasphemy and guilt of Eudoxius. But the emperor, at the instigation of the adverse party, said that it was necessary to deliberate first on matters relating to the faith, and that then his case might be examined. Basil, with the confidence which naturally arose from his former familiarity with the emperor, reproved him for having formed designs against the apostolical doctrines. Constantius became irritated, commanded Basil to be silent, and charged him with being the cause of the tempest which agitated the church. When Basil had thus been silenced, Eustathius exclaimed, "Since you desire, O emperor, that the doctrines of the faith should be examined, turn your attention to the blasphemy against the only begotten Son which Eudoxius has dared to utter; for he has but just presented his formulary of faith, which contains the following among many other impious declarations: 'Those things which are enunciated by different terms, differ also in substance. Now it is said there is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things. Here the expressions *of whom* and *by whom* are not synonymous. The Son, therefore, is dissimilar from God

¹ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος λειτουργία. Valesius does not understand by these words merely the public administration of baptism, but the celebration of the festival of the Epiphany, in which the baptism of Jesus Christ in the river Jordan by John was specially commemorated, and at which a large number of children were wont to be baptized. From this passage it is clear that the use of ecclesiastical vestments in the church is of very high antiquity.

the Father.'” The emperor, after having this confession of faith read to him, was moved to indignation by the impiety it contained, and asked Eudoxius whether it had been composed by him. Eudoxius affirmed that it was not written by him, but by Aëtius. This was the same Aetius who some time previously had been deprived of the office of deacon by Leontius, from the dread of the accusations of Flavianus and Diodorus: he had also been the accomplice of George, bishop of Alexandria, and had taken an active part in all his impious discourses and unholy enterprises. Aëtius was then residing with Eunomius at the house of Eudoxius: for, at the death of Leontius, Eudoxius having seized the government of the church of Antioch, Aetius had returned from Egypt, and had brought Eunomius with him. When he discovered that Eudoxius held the same sentiments as himself, and that his impious principles were combined with the luxurious habits of the Sybarites, he preferred to reside in Antioch rather than in any other city. He and Eunomius frequented the table of Eudoxius, and led the life of parasites, going hither and thither with the sole intent of gormandizing. These things coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he desired Aetius to be brought before him, and, showing him the formulary, asked him whether he was the author of it? Aetius, being totally ignorant of what had transpired, and unaware of the cause of the question being put to him, and expecting also that his confession of the fact would elicit applause, said that he was indeed the author of the document. The emperor, having thus detected his great impiety, immediately condemned him to banishment, and sent him to a region of Phrygia. Thus Aëtius reaped disgrace as the fruit of his blasphemy, and was thrust out of the palace. Eustathius deposed that Eudoxius held the same views as Aëtius who had indited these blasphemies, that he had been an inmate of the same house, and had sat down at the same table, and had been subservient to all his designs. Eustathius added, that this writing could not have been drawn up without the knowledge and concurrence of Eudoxius; and that this was proved by his having declared that it was written by Aetius. The emperor said that the decision of judges ought not to rest upon conjectures, but upon the results of close and accurate examination. To this observation Eustathius made the following reply:—“Let Eu-

doxius convince us that he does not hold these sentiments, by pronouncing an anathema against the formulary of Aëtius." The emperor having agreed to this proposal, Eudoxius endeavoured by various artifices to evade pronouncing the condemnation to which he had been challenged. But when the emperor became irritated, and threatened to send him into banishment with Aëtius as the accomplice in his impiety, he publicly renounced his own doctrines, which, however, he never desisted from defending. Eudoxius then objected to Eustathius that he and the other bishops ought to condemn the word *con-substantial*, as it is not to be found in Scripture. Silvanus replied, that, as the statements that the Son was called out of nothing into being, that he is a creature, and of a different substance from the Father, do not occur in Scripture, nor in the writings of prophets, nor of the apostles, it was but just that such statements should be condemned and expunged by those who held them. The emperor assented to this, and commanded the partisans of Eudoxius to condemn these expressions. At first they made some objections, but at length perceiving the indignation of the emperor, they reluctantly condemned the statements cited by Silvanus, and they demanded with greater vehemence than before that the term *con-substantial* should likewise be condemned. But Silvanus addressed both them and the emperor with subtlety as well as with truth. If the Word who is God was not created,¹ if he is not a creature, if he is not of a different substance, he must be of the same² substance as God who begat him ; for he is God of God and Light of Light, and of the same nature as the Father who begat him." But though he maintained these arguments with power and with truth, he did not succeed in convincing any one. The partisans of Acacius and Eudoxius raised loud shouts against him ; and the emperor, being angry, threatened to expel him from the church. Eleusius, Silvanus, and others, told the emperor that he had the right of inflicting punishment, but that the right of judging between piety and impiety was theirs, and that they would never swerve from the doctrines of the Fathers. Constantius, instead of applauding their wisdom and courage, and their defence of the apostolical doctrines, banished them from their churches and appointed others in their place. Eudoxius then seized the go-

¹ Εἰ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων οὐκ ἔστι.

² Ὁμοούσιος. See Soc. Ec. Hist. b. i. passim.

vernment of the church of Constantinople ; and Eunomius took possession of the bishopric of Cyzicum, whence Eleusius had been ejected. The emperor then commanded a written condemnation of Aëtius to be prepared, so that his associates in impiety were compelled to condemn one holding the same sentiments as themselves. They wrote to George, bishop of Alexandria, informing him of what had been done against Aëtius. In proof of their malice I shall here insert their letter, for they treated those who coincided in their opinions and those who opposed them in the same manner.

CHAP. XXVIII.—SYNODICAL EPISTLE WRITTEN AGAINST AËTIUS.

COPY of the letter written by all the council to George, concerning the atrocious blasphemy of his deacon Aëtius.

“The holy synod assembled at Constantinople saluteth the much-honoured George, bishop of Alexandria.

“The bishops, by condemning the unlawful and scandalous writings of Aëtius, have acted in conformity with the canons of the church. They have likewise ejected him from the office of deacon, and have excommunicated him. They admonished us to refrain from reading his letters, and desired us to destroy his writings on account of their inutility and pernicious tendency. They also enacted that a sentence of condemnation should be issued against him and his adherents if he persisted in his error. It would have been well if the author of all the offences, troubles, schisms, and tumults which have agitated the whole world, and of the disputes which have divided the members of the church, had been regarded with aversion by all the bishops assembled at the council, so that they might have unanimously concurred in the sentence pronounced against him. But, contrary to all our hopes and expectations, Serras, Stephen, Heliodorus, Theophilus, and others refused to assent to our decision, or to sign the sentence which we had adjudged. Yet Serras accused Aëtius of the grossest infatuation, alleging that he had had the presumption and audacity to declare that God had revealed to him what had been kept concealed from the apostles. Even after proof of the infatuation and arrogance of Aëtius had been adduced by Serras, they could not be led either by entreaties or by arguments to sign the sentence which we had decreed against him. We bore with them patiently

for a long time, addressing them alternately in tones of indignation, of entreaty, and of rebuke, and then beseeching them to agree with us and with the whole council. We waited a long time to see if they would yield to the force of our arguments. But when we had borne with them during so long a period, and had found that they would not yield nor assent to the condemnation of the aforesaid individual, we testified that we held the canons of the church in higher estimation than the friendship of men, and we excluded them from communion ; we gave them, however, six months for repentance and amendment, and for reconciliation with the synod. We determined that if within the time appointed they repented of their error, became united in opinion with their brethren, and assented to the decree against Aëtius, they should be admitted into communion with the church, and should receive from us, in all the synods, the authority and the love which they had previously enjoyed ; but that if, regarding the friendship of men more than the laws of the church and unity with us, they persisted in refusing to repent of their temerity, that we should then consider them unworthy of the episcopal dignity. Upon their deposition, it became requisite that other bishops should fill their offices, in order that the church may be united in opinion, that the bonds of love may be preserved between the bishops of every region, and that they all may declare the same truths, and be of one mind and of one opinion. This is what we had to mention to you respecting the decrees of the council. We pray that you may be enabled to observe them ; and that you may, by the grace of Christ, peaceably and lawfully govern the church which is under you."

CHAP. XXIX.—CAUSE OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE EUNOMIANS AND THE ARIANS.

EUNOMIUS, in his writings, highly extolled Aëtius, styled him the man of God, and bestowed many encomiums on him ; still he did not refrain from intimacy with those who had condemned him ; and he even received ordination from them, being raised by them to the episcopal dignity. The partisans of Eudoxius and of Acacius, who had approved of the formulary compiled at Nice in Thrace, of which mention has already been made, ordained two bishops in the room of Basil and

Eleusius whom they had deposed. As I think it would be superfluous to enter into particulars respecting the other bishops, I shall only relate what concerns Eunomius. The government of the church of Cyzicum being seized by Eunomius while Eleusius was still living, Eudoxius, who perceived the attachment of the people to sound doctrine, and who was also aware that the emperor had expressed indignation against those who said that the only begotten Son of God had been created, counselled Eunomius to conceal his sentiments, and not to let them be known to those who were earnestly seeking an opportunity for framing accusations against him. "At some future period," said he, "we will preach that which we now conceal, we will instruct the ignorant, and will silence our opponents either by arguments, by force, or by vengeance." Eunomius, in accordance with this advice, concealed his impiety by involving his doctrines in obscure phraseology. But those who were well instructed in the Holy Scriptures perceived the fraud, and felt it deeply; but they conceived that the manifestation of any opposition would be more rash than prudent. Under the pretence of having imbibed heretical opinions, they went to his house, and besought him to expound to them the truth which he maintained, that they might not be driven hither and thither by contrary doctrines. He was led to place confidence in them, and disclosed to them the doctrines which he had till then concealed. They then told him that it would be exceedingly unjust and impious if he did not communicate the truth to all men. Eunomius was deceived by these and other similar arguments, and accordingly divulged his blasphemous opinions in the public assemblies of the church. They then, transported with zeal, hastened to Constantinople, and laid their accusation against Eunomius, in the first place, before Eudoxius; but as he would not receive it, they repaired to the emperor to complain to him of the injury committed by Eunomius, whom they accused of advancing doctrines more impious than the blasphemies of Arius. The emperor was much incensed on receiving this information; and he commanded Eudoxius to send for Eunomius, and upon his conviction to deprive him of the sacerdotal office. Finding that Eudoxius persisted in delay, notwithstanding their numerous solicitations, the accusers again repaired to the emperor, and declared that Eudoxius had disobeyed the command imposed

on him, and that he suffered so great a city to be abandoned to the blasphemies of Eunomius. Constantius then menaced Eudoxius with banishment unless he would bring him forward to judgment, and inflict upon him the penalties of the law, should he be convicted of the crimes laid to his charge. Eudoxius, terrified by these menaces, wrote to Eunomius, desiring him to flee from Cyzicum, and to impute all the blame to himself for not having followed the advice which had been given him. Eunomius was fearful for his own safety, and therefore retreated. He accused Eudoxius of treachery and injustice towards him and towards Aëtius. From that time he began to form a sect of his own. All those who had previously held the same sentiments as himself went over to him, and inveighed against the treachery of Eudoxius. They were called Eunomians after their leader, which name they have retained to this day. Eunomius being thus placed at the head of a faction, gave still greater weight by his impiety to the blasphemy of Arius. The facts themselves clearly prove that in making himself the head of a party he was solely impelled by ambition and the love of glory. Thus, when Aëtius was condemned and banished, he would not accompany him into exile, although he had previously declared him to be a man of God; but he continued on terms of friendship with Eudoxius. When his impiety had been visited by a just sentence of deposition, he would not submit to the decision of the council, but continued to ordain bishops and presbyters, although he had himself been divested of the episcopal office. These are the events which occurred at Constantinople.

CHAP. XXX.—SIEGE OF NISIBIS.—APOSTOLICAL CONDUCT OF
JAMES, BISHOP OF THE CITY.

SAPOR, king of Persia, having declared war against the Romans, Constantius raised troops and marched to Antioch. He defeated the enemy, yet not by the Roman army, but by the God of the pious individuals who dwelt in the Roman empire. I shall here relate the manner in which he gained the victory. Nisibis, by some called Antioch of Mygdonia, lies between the frontiers of the Persian and Roman empires. James, whom I have already mentioned, was the bishop, the guardian, and the leader of this city: all the gifts of the

apostles were united in him. I have already narrated his extraordinary and celebrated miracles in a work entitled "Philotheus," I therefore think it unnecessary again to record them here. I shall, however, mention one which has immediate connexion with our present narrative. As this city was under the government of the Romans, the Persian army blockaded it. During seventy days they surrounded it, they planted battering-rams against the walls, constructed many other warlike machines, and made ramparts and trenches around the city; yet they could not force it to surrender. At length, they determined to stop the course of the river Mygdonius, which flows through the city; they formed ramparts on each side of the stream to prevent its overflowing, and so much of the water was thus collected that it began to flow over the embankment; then they hurled it like a battering-ram against the walls, which not being able to withstand the shock, were thrown down. The river also caused a similar catastrophe when it rushed out on the opposite side of the city, for the walls in that part were likewise unable to resist the impetuosity of the stream, and were consequently overthrown. On perceiving the walls thus battered down, Sapor expected to take possession of the city without any trouble. He remained at rest during that day with the intention of waiting till the ground had become dry and the river navigable, before he took any further steps. At length he called together all his troops, in the confident expectation of effecting an entrance into the city through the breaches which had been made in the walls; he then perceived that the walls had been rebuilt, and that all his labour had been in vain. For the holy bishop, after having by means of prayer raised the courage of the soldiers and of the other inhabitants, rebuilt the wall, and placed the warlike machines within the city in order to assault the enemy. In effecting this he did not even approach the walls, but remained within the church, praying to God. Sapor was not only terrified by the speedy re-erection of the walls, but also by a vision. He saw on the wall a man decorated with the imperial ornaments, and was surprised at the splendid radiance of his purple robes and of his diadem. He at first conjectured him to be the Roman emperor; and he threatened to punish with death those who had reported him to be at a distance. But on their protesting

that what they had said was true, and on their proving that Constantius was at Antioch, Sapor perceived the signification of the vision, and exclaimed, "God is fighting for the Romans!" Filled with indignation, he shot up an arrow toward heaven, although he well knew the impossibility of wounding Him who is incorporeal. Then Ephraim, who was a most excellent man and the best of the Syrian writers, besought the holy James to mount upon the walls,¹ and looking upon the barbarians to pronounce imprecations against them. James acceded to this request, and accordingly ascended one of the towers. Thence he perceived the multitudes of men, but he uttered no imprecations against them. He prayed that flies and gnats might be sent against them, that so they might learn from these small insects the great power of Him who protected the Romans. His prayer was scarcely concluded, when swarms of flies and of gnats appeared like clouds. The trunks of the elephants, which are hollow like tubes, were filled with them, as also the ears and the nostrils of the horses and of the other beasts of burden. These animals, not being able with all their strength to get rid of the insects, became furious, threw their riders, broke the ranks, left the army, and fled away with the utmost speed. The wretched king, learning by means of this slight and gentle punishment the power of that God who protects the pious, returned with shame at having met with defeat where he had confidently expected victory.

CHAP. XXXI.—SYNOD HELD AT ANTIOCH.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH THERE OCCURRED RELATIVE TO THE HOLY MELITIUS.

AT this period the emperor Constantius resided at Antioch. After he had, by concluding a truce, terminated the war against the Persians, he again assembled all the bishops, and tried to compel them to expunge the term "*consubstantial*," (*τὸ ὁμοούσιον*), and to insert the expression "*of a different substance*," (*τὸ ἕτεροούσιον*). The church of Antioch was then destitute of a pastor: for Eudoxius, who had seized the bishopric

¹ Valesius gives his reasons for believing that Theodorot is mistaken here, and that he confounds together two distinct sieges of Nisibis. But the fact is that the city was besieged three times, namely, in A. D. 337, 350, and 359, and it was on the second of these three occasions that James, the bishop, saved the city by his prayers.

on the death of Leontius, had been expelled, and had, in disobedience to the decrees of many councils, taken possession of that of Constantinople. The bishops who were assembled from all regions, therefore said that it was first necessary to elect a pastor over the flock, and that they would then, in concert with him, deliberate on the doctrines of religion. At this period Melitius, whose character was most highly exemplary, had resigned the bishopric of a little city in Armenia, not being able to bear the contumacy of the people, and was living elsewhere in quiet and retirement. The members of the Arian faction, believing that Melitius was of one mind with themselves, and that he upheld the same doctrines, petitioned Constantius to commit the reins of the church of Antioch into his hands; for they fearlessly violated every enactment in their attempts to strengthen their own impious cause. The very foundation of their blasphemy was laid upon the transgression of the laws; and they have everywhere introduced numerous innovations. Those who supported the apostolical doctrines, being aware of the sound principles of the great Melitius, as well as of his exemplary course of life and of his great virtues, warmly seconded the petition; and zealously took measures to insure the decree of his election being written and signed. When the decree had been duly completed, it was intrusted to the care of Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, who was a noble defender and champion of the truth. Upon receiving the imperial command, the great Melitius returned, and was met by all the bishops, by the clergy, by the citizens, and even by the Jews and the Grecks, who were desirous of seeing so celebrated a man. The emperor commanded him, and those other bishops who possessed rhetorical abilities, to explain to the multitude the following words, "The Lord made me in the beginning of his ways, for his works" (Prov. viii. 22): and he commanded that each exposition should be committed to writing in order to secure accuracy. George, bishop of Laodicea, was the first who drew up an exposition, and in it he displayed the baneful nature of his heresy. Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, in his explanation, which was next completed, steered a middle course between the impiety of the Arians and the purity of the apostolical doctrines, differing greatly from the one, and yet not preserving the characteristic features of the other. Thirdly, the great

Melitus stood up and explained the principles enforced by the ecclesiastical canons. He weighed all his words in the balance of truth, and carefully avoided saying either too much or too little. His discourse was heard with general approbation, and being entreated to give a brief synopsis of his doctrines, he extended three of his fingers, and then closed two, leaving one only extended, and uttered the following remarkable words: "Three persons are conceived in the mind, but we speak as if addressing one." Those who had imbibed the errors of Arius began to revile him, and to accuse him falsely of following the doctrines of Sabellius. They induced the emperor, who was more changeable than Æolus, to banish him to his native country. His bishopric was given to Euzoius, who openly advocated the Arian doctrines, and who had been deposed at the same time as Arius, and had been excluded from the office of deacon by the great Alexander. On account of this election, the more orthodox part of the community separated from those who had embraced heresy, and assembled in the apostolical church which was situated in the old city.¹ During thirty years, which had elapsed since the machinations against the celebrated Eustathius,² they had borne with the wickedness of the Arians, expecting that affairs would take a better turn. But when they saw that the cause of heresy was becoming stronger, and that all who maintained the apostolical doctrines were either openly opposed or secretly persecuted, and when they perceived that the holy Melitus had been deposed, and Euzoius, the patron of heresy, appointed to supplant him, they recalled to mind the words addressed to Lot, "Save your soul." The following precept of the gospel likewise occurred to them, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee." (Matt. v. 29.) The signification of these words was meant by the Lord to extend to the hand and to the foot; for it is added, "It is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

It was in this way that the church of Antioch was divided into opposite parties.

¹ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ. In this part of the city was the church called after the name of the apostles, and in which St. Peter had his chair. See below, book iii. 4.

² He had been deposed A. D. 330.

CHAP. XXXII. EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.

EUSEBIUS, that excellent bishop whom I have already mentioned, to whom the written decree of election had been confided, returned to his own city when he perceived that the compact was about to be broken. The Arians, fearing that, as the document contained their signatures, it might serve as a proof of their guilt, persuaded the emperor to send to Eusebius for it. The emperor accordingly despatched a messenger upon one of the public horses, as was the custom when a speedy answer was desired. When he had arrived and delivered the message of the emperor, the admirable Eusebius made the following reply: "I cannot consent to restore the public deposit, except at the command of the whole assembly of bishops by whom it was committed to my care." When this reply was conveyed to the emperor he was deeply incensed, and he wrote again to Eusebius commanding him to deliver up the decree, and threatening him with the amputation of his right hand unless he would comply with the injunction. This, however, he only wrote for the purpose of intimidating him; for he forbade the bearer of the letter from executing the threat. After Eusebius had read the letter, and had learnt what punishment was threatened by the emperor, he stretched out his hands and said, "I am willing to suffer the loss of both my hands, rather than to resign a document which contains so manifest a demonstration of the impiety of the Arians." Constantius, on being informed of his fortitude, highly applauded him, and ever after held him in high admiration. Even the enemies of virtue are compelled by its greatness to admire it.

About this period, Constantius heard that Julian, whom he had appointed Caesar in Europe, had entered upon many ambitious projects, and had even raised troops against his benefactor. Constantius, accordingly, set off for Syria; but he died in Cilicia. He did not enjoy that assistance which his father had bequeathed him, because he had not preserved inviolate the birthright of his father's piety; so that when he drew near his end he bitterly lamented having corrupted the faith.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

CONSTANTIUS died deploring his defection from the faith of his father. Julian, when on his journey from Europe to Asia, was informed of the death of Constantius: he immediately took possession of the imperial crown, which no one dared to dispute with him.

CHAP. II.—THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF JULIAN, AND HIS
SUBSEQUENT APOSTASY.

FROM his tenderest infancy Julian had been nourished with the milk of religious doctrines, as was also Gallus his brother. He adhered to this doctrine during his childhood and early youth. Intimidated by Constantius, who, apprehensive of usurpations, made away with his nearest relatives, Julian placed himself in the office of reader at the ecclesiastical assemblies, and read the sacred books to the people. He had an edifice erected in honour of the martyrs; but his liberality was not accepted by the martyrs, because they foresaw his apostasy. The foundations of this building were as unstable as the mind of their founder; and the whole structure fell down before it had been consecrated. Such were the events which occurred in his youth.

CHAP. III.—MANNER IN WHICH JULIAN OPENLY MANIFESTED
THOSE IMPIOUS SENTIMENTS WHICH HE HAD PREVIOUSLY
CONCEALED.

WHEN Constantius departed to the West to make war against Magnentius, he appointed Gallus to be Cæsar of the East. Gallus had embraced the true religion, and stedfastly adhered to it throughout his life. At this juncture Julian threw off the salutary fear of God, boldly assumed more than was his by right, and aspired to the imperial sceptre. With this object in view, he traversed all Greece to consult the soothsayers and interpreters of oracles whether his ambitious aspirations would be fulfilled. He fell in with a man who promised to foretell what he desired, and who accordingly led

him into the deepest recesses of an idolatrous temple, and there invoked the deceiving demons. When they appeared as usual under the most frightful forms, Julian, constrained by terror, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead. The demons, on perceiving the sign of the cross, the memorial of the Lord's victory over them, and of their defeat, immediately vanished. The sorcerer reprimanded Julian for having caused their flight. Julian explained that he had been overcome by terror; and declared that he admired the power of the cross, the sign of which the demons were not able to look upon. "Do not take up that idea, good man," said the sorcerer. "They did not fear that which you mention, but disappeared because they abominated the action which you performed." After thus deceiving him, the sorcerer initiated him into the mysteries, and filled his mind with impiety. Thus did the lust of empire rob this wretched prince of all religion. When he ascended the throne, he for a long time concealed his impiety, because he feared the soldiers who had embraced the doctrines of religion. For Constantine, who was so deserving of all praise, after having freed them from their former superstitions, had had them instructed in true doctrines. His children stedfastly adhered to those doctrines which they had received from their father. For although Constantius was induced by those who had obtained an undue ascendancy over him to reject the term "consubstantial," yet he had always sincerely admitted the doctrine signified by it.¹ For he confessed that the Word is God, and the Son of God, begotten of God before all ages: and he condemned all those who dared to affirm that he is a creature; he also invariably prohibited the worship of idols. Among his other actions, one is worthy of being mentioned, as it displays his zeal for the things of God. When entering upon the war against Magnentius, he assembled all his soldiers and exhorted them to receive the holy rite of baptism. "Life," said he, "is always uncertain, but especially in battle; for there it is endangered by arrows, darts, spears, swords, and a multitude of other weapons designed to inflict death. It is therefore necessary that each

¹ Theodoret here shows that the emperor Constantius, though a most bitter opponent of the Homoeousian party, was always a Catholic at heart. The same testimony is born by Gregory Nazianzen, who calls him *θειότατος και φιλοχριστότατος*.

of you should be habited in that robe of which we shall stand most in need in the next life. If there be any one among you who desires to delay receiving this robe, let him now return to his own home, for those who have not submitted to this ordinance shall not engage on my side in battle."¹

CHAP. IV.—RETURN OF THE BISHOPS FROM EXILE.

JULIAN being acquainted with all these facts, did not openly manifest the impiety of his principles. In order to conciliate the good-will of all parties, he recalled to their own churches those bishops who had been banished by Constantius to the farthest extremities of the earth. As soon as this decree was issued, the holy Melitius returned to Antioch, and the celebrated Athanasius to Alexandria. Eusebius and Hilarius, bishops of Italy, and Lucifer, bishop of the isle of Sardinia, were then in Thebes, a province of Egypt, where they had been banished by Constantius. They assembled for deliberation with some other bishops of the same sentiments as themselves; for it was necessary, they said, that the churches should be reunited by one standard of doctrine, hostility being not only manifested by the adversaries, but the very members of the church being divided against each other. For, in Antioch, the orthodox part of the church was divided into two sections. The first consisted of those who had seceded on account of the renowned Eustathius: the other party comprised those who had withdrawn with the excellent Melitius, and who celebrated the Divine service² in the old city.³ Both parties held the same confession of faith, and maintained the doctrines which had been confirmed at Nice. They only kept aloof from each other from a spirit of contention, and on account of the preference which they felt for their respective bishops. The death of one of these bishops did not allay the discord,

¹ Valesius suspects that these words are not genuine. For how, he asks, could Constantius have refused to have unbaptized soldiers in his army, seeing that he was himself unbaptized at this time? It is well known that he was not baptized until after his expedition against Julian, that he received baptism at the hand of Euzoius at Antioch.

² Λειτουργία. The holy eucharist, so called κατ' ἐξοχήν, as being λειτουργία, the public action of the church. See Wilberforce on the Eucharist, chap. 2.

³ ἡ παλαιά. See note in b. ii. 31.

for Eustathius having died before Melitius was ordained, and those who adhered to religion having seceded subsequently to the exile of Melitius and the ordination of Euzoius, those separatists who bore the name of Eustathius could not be induced to join them. Endeavours were made, as above related, by Eusebius and Lucifer, to effect a re-union. Eusebius begged Lucifer to go to Alexandria, and to consult the great Athanasius on the subject; and he himself undertook the task of re-establishing concord.

CHAP. V.—ORDINATION OF PAULINUS.

LUCIFER, however, did not go to Alexandria. He went over to Antioch, where he repeatedly exhorted each party to union. But perceiving that the Eustathians opposed the end which he had in view, he appointed Paulinus, who was a presbyter, and the chief of their faction, to be bishop. This was not right on his part; it increased the dissension, which continued eighty-five¹ years, not terminating till the time of Alexander, a bishop worthy of the highest fame. As soon as he was appointed bishop over the church of Antioch, he laboured earnestly, and with success, in restoring concord, and in re-uniting those members of the church who had been disjoined from the rest of the body.

Lucifer, who had been instrumental in augmenting the dissensions, remained during a long period at Antioch. When Eusebius repaired thither, he found that the evil, far from having been removed, had by such unwise measures been rendered incurable: he then departed and sailed towards the West. Lucifer returned to Sardinia, and added certain doctrines to those of the church. Those who embraced these doctrines received his name, and were called Luciferians for some time after. These doctrines, however, became extinct, and were forgotten.

These were the circumstances which occurred after the return of the bishops from exile.

¹ Baronius, in his *Annals*, A. D. 408, objects to this calculation as incorrect; but Valesius does not acquiesce in his opinion.

CHAP. VI.—ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES BY WHICH JULIAN WAS LED, THROUGH ENVY AND NOT FROM BENEVOLENCE, TO REFRAIN FROM PUBLICLY SLAYING THE CHRISTIANS.

JULIAN'S avowal of his own impiety filled the cities with sedition. Those who were addicted to the worship of idols were emboldened to open their idolatrous temples, and to celebrate those detestable mysteries which deserve to be for ever ~~buried in oblivion~~. They kindled fire on their altars, polluted the earth by the blood of their victims, and the air by the smoke and odour of the sacrifices. Being agitated by the demons whom they adored, they ran furiously about the market-places like the Corybantes. They assaulted and insulted all the holy men, and omitted no kind of reproach and invective which could be cast upon them. Those who professed religion, being unable to bear with their impiety, reviled them in return, and inveighed against the errors which they had embraced. Incensed at these rebukes, they took advantage of the protection afforded them by the emperor, to retort by the infliction of irreparable injuries. This detestable emperor, instead of establishing peace, as he ought to have done, excited the people against each other, and winked at the crimes perpetrated by the more audacious members of society against those who were the most gentle. He bestowed the highest civil and military offices upon the most cruel and impious of his subjects. These officers, though they did not compel the Christians by open force to sacrifice to idols, yet treated them with every species of indignity. The privileges accorded to the clergy by Constantine the Great were abolished.

CHAP. VII.—ATTACKS MADE ON THE CHRISTIANS BY THE PAGANS WHO HAD BEEN RAISED TO POWER BY JULIAN.

ALTHOUGH the audacious actions committed by the idolaters, at this period, were so numerous that it seems requisite that a whole book should be devoted to the narration of them, I shall select a few from the number to relate here. At Askalon and at Gaza, which are both cities of Palestine, they seized men truly worthy of the priesthood, and women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and after having torn open their stomachs, they filled them with barley, and threw them to the pigs to be devoured. In Sebaste, a city of the same province, they

opened the coffin of John the Baptist, burnt his bones, and flung away the ashes. Who can relate without tears the detestable action which they perpetrated in Phœnicia? In Heliopolis, a city near Libanus, dwelt Cyril a deacon. Acting under the impulse of ardent zeal, he had here, during the reign of Constantius, destroyed many of the idols. These impious men not only killed him in remembrance of this act, but after having ripped up his stomach they ate his liver. This atrocious deed did not elude the observation and the punishment of Divine Justice. All those who took part in it lost their teeth, which fell out one after the other. Then they lost their tongues, which decayed in their mouths: at length, they also lost their eyes, and thus perceived the power of religion by their sufferings. At Emessa, a city of the same region, the idolaters desecrated a church which had been recently erected, and dedicated it to Bacchus Androgynes, and placed within it the ridiculous hermaphrodite statue of that idol. At Dorostolis, a celebrated city of Thrace, Emilius, an undaunted champion of the faith, was thrown into the flames by Capitolinus, governor of the province. It would require the descriptive powers of Æschylus and of Sophocles to relate the tragical sufferings endured by Marcus, bishop of Arethusa. He had during the reign of Constantius destroyed an idolatrous temple, and erected a Christian church in its stead: the inhabitants of the city, therefore, on learning the bent of Julian's mind, openly avowed their hostility against their bishop. He at first, according to the precept of the gospel, attempted to save himself by flight; but hearing that some individuals had been arrested instead of him, he returned, and delivered himself up to his executioners. These men showed no pity for his age, nor respect for his virtues. Notwithstanding his holy course of life and his admirable mode of teaching, they seized him, stripped him naked, and lacerated him with scourgings. They then threw him into the foetid sewers, and, after drawing him out, they delivered him to the youths of the city, commanding them to pierce him with the points of their writing implements.¹ After these cruel inflictions, they thrust him into a basket, anointed him with a kind of pickle, and with honey, and, suspending him where the heat was most excessive, left him to the attacks of wasps and bees. These sufferings were

¹ Γραφίς.

inflicted by his torturers, in order to compel him either to rebuild the temple which he had demolished, or else to furnish money for its re-erection. But all the torments which he underwent did not induce him to promise what was demanded. It then occurred to the citizens, that poverty might probably be the cause of his refusing the money, and they offered to reduce the sum specified to one half the amount. But although he was suspended in the air, his flesh punctured with the points of writing implements, and stung by wasps and bees, he did not manifest the slightest sense of pain; and he even ridiculed the evil men around him, and told them that they were crawling on the earth while he was elevated towards heaven. At length they moderated their demands to a very inconsiderable sum of money. He replied that it would be as impious to give an obolus¹ as to give the whole sum. Being thus defeated in their attempts, they released him, but not without the highest admiration of his fortitude. They were converted, and learnt from his lips the doctrines of religion.

CHAP. VIII.—LAWS ENACTED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

MANY other crimes were perpetrated about this time by the irreligious against the pious, both at sea and on land; for the ungodly emperor had enacted laws against religion. The first of these laws prohibited the children of Galileans, for this was the name he gave to Christians, from being instructed in poetry, rhetoric, or philosophy. “For we,” said he, “are, according to the old proverb, smitten by our own wings; for our authors furnish weapons to carry on war against us.” It was enjoined by the other law, that the Galileans should be expelled from the army.

CHAP. IX.—BANISHMENT AND FLIGHT OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

AT this juncture Athanasius, that heroic combatant and champion of truth, was again exposed to another perilous conflict. The demons, not being able to resist the power of the teaching and of the prayers of Athanasius, furnished their own agents with invectives against him. Among other state-

¹ This coin was worth about five farthings and a half.

ments which they laid before the patron of impiety, to induce him to expel Athanasius, they told him, that if the bishop were suffered to remain unmolested, there would not be one Pagan left, for that he led them all to espouse his own sentiments. Julian acceded to their petition, and commanded that Athanasius should not only be banished, but that he should be put to death. The followers of Athanasius were struck with horror at this announcement; but he said to them, "This commotion will quickly terminate: it is a cloud which appears and then vanishes away." He however retired when he heard of the arrival of those sent to carry the edict into execution; and finding a vessel lying near the bank of the stream, he embarked and sailed to Thebes. Those who had been commanded to kill him, on being apprized of his escape, pursued him with all their might. One of his friends, however, distanced them in the pursuit; and, on his communicating the intelligence, those who were with Athanasius besought him to disembark, and to flee to the desert. He, however, directed the helmsman to steer straight to Alexandria. While they were pursuing this course, the officer who was intrusted with the command of slaying him overtook him, and asked him where Athanasius was. "He is near," replied he; and passed on. He reached Alexandria, and remained there in concealment during the rest of Julian's life.

CHAP. X.—EVENTS RELATING TO THE DAPHNEAN APOLLO,
AND TO ST. BABYLAS.

JULIAN, being desirous of declaring war against the Persians, sent his most faithful friends to consult all the principal oracles of the Roman empire. He went himself to the Pythian Apollo of Daphne, beseeching him to reveal to him the future. The soothsayer replied, that it would be required first to remove the dead bodies which were lying in the neighbourhood to some other region, for that they obstructed the deliverance of the oracles; and that, upon their removal, the future would be disclosed. The remains of the triumphant martyr, Babylas, and of the young men who were slain with him, were at this period lying in the neighbourhood. It was evident that the delivery of the deceitful oracles was prevented by the presence of those holy corpses. This was

clearly perceived by Julian, who, from the religion in which he had been formerly instructed, had learnt the power of the martyrs. On this account he would not remove any of the corpses himself, but commanded the followers of Christ to carry away the remains of these triumphant martyrs. The whole body of Christians accordingly repaired with great exultation to the sacred grove, placed these remains in a car drawn by two horses, and thus conveyed them to the city. All the Christians followed, singing the psalms of David, and at every interval repeating these words, "Let all those who adore graven images be confounded." The Christians regarded this removal of the martyrs as a triumph gained over the demons.

CHAP. XI.—FIDELITY OF THEODORE.

JULIAN, unable to bear the humiliation which this procedure cast upon him, commanded the next day that the leaders of the procession should be arrested. Salustius, who was at this period a vice-governor, and who had enlisted in the service of impiety, persuaded the tyrant not to grant to the Christians the glory of martyrdom, which they so earnestly desired. But when he perceived that the emperor was unable to curb his fury, he commanded the arrest of a young man deeply imbued with divine zeal, who was then walking in the market-place. He had him stretched on the rack in the presence of all the people, and ordered his shoulders to be torn with scourging, and his sides with nails. To this treatment he was subjected from the dawn of day until its close. He was then bound with iron chains and cast into prison. The next morning Salustius informed Julian of these inflictions, described the fortitude of the young man, and said, that such cruelties were degrading to their own party, and conferred glory on the Christians. This impious emperor was induced by these arguments to desist from further acts of vengeance; and he released Theodore (for this was the name of the young and generous defender of the truth) from prison. Some persons¹ having afterwards asked the young man whether he did not suffer extreme anguish while subjected to

¹ This story, as Valesius remarks, is taken from the 10th book of Rufinus, who borrowed it originally from Theodorus.

these cruel and severe tortures, he replied, that at first he did suffer a few pangs ; but that afterwards there appeared one who wiped off the perspiration from his face with soft and cooling linen, and who animated him to take courage. He said that, when the people ceased from torturing him, he did not rejoice, but was, on the contrary, grieved, because his solacer quitted him at the same time.

The imposture practised at the oracle by artful demons was detected, and the fame of the martyrs increased. A thunder-bolt fell from heaven, burnt the whole of the temple, and reduced the statue of Apollo to ashes ; for this statue was only composed of wood, with a gilded surface. Julian, the governor of the East, who was the uncle of the emperor Julian, being informed during the night of the conflagration, immediately hastened to the assistance of the god whom he adored. Perceiving, on his arrival at Daphne, that his god was reduced to ashes, he suspected that this act of incendiarism had been committed by the Christians, and put those who guarded the temple to the torture in order to elicit the truth. But they could not be compelled, by torture, to declare that which was false. They said that the fire had fallen down from heaven, and that some peasants who were returning from the neighbourhood had witnessed its descent.

CHAP. XII.—CONFISCATION OF THE HOLY TREASURES AND VESSELS.

ALTHOUGH these impious men were thus put in possession of the facts just as they occurred, they still exerted their whole strength to oppose God. The tyrant commanded that the holy ornaments should be taken to the royal treasury, and ordered the spacious church built by Constantine to be closed ; thus preventing the Arians, into whose hands it had then fallen, from assembling in it. Felix, the treasurer of the emperor, and Elpidius, who was intrusted with the superintendence of the emperor's private possessions, being, what was termed by the Romans, the count or treasurer of the private estate, went with Julian, the governor of the East,¹ into the holy temple. Felix and Elpidius, it is said, were once Christians,

¹ His title, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, was not *Præfectus*, but *Comes Orientis*.

but apostatized from the true religion in order to please the impious emperor. It is related, that Julian committed an act of indecency by the holy altar, and struck Euzoius because he tried to restrain him from the deed. He said, that the concerns of Christians were not under the care of Divine Providence. Felix, after examining the holy vessels, which were of great magnificence, having been constructed by order of Constantine and Constantius, exclaimed, "Behold, in what kind of vessels the Son of Mary is ministered unto."

CHAP. XIII.—THE IMPIETY OF JULIAN, THE UNCLE OF THE EMPEROR, AND LIKEWISE THAT OF HIS COMPANIONS, VISITED BY DIVINE VENGEANCE.

THIS act of impiety and of daring iniquity did not long escape the hand of Justice. Julian was almost instantaneously seized with a loathsome disease. Putrefaction arose in his intestines, and his excrements, instead of being conveyed through the ordinary channel, were propelled upwards into that wretched mouth which had been used as the instrument of blasphemy. It is related, that his wife, who was eminent for faith, said to him, "You ought to praise Christ the Saviour, for having, by this chastisement, revealed to you his power; for you would never have known towards whom you were evincing so much hostility, had He, with his usual long-suffering, exempted you from affliction." These words, and the agonies which he suffered, led him to discern the cause of his disease, and he besought the emperor to restore the church to those from whom it had been taken; but he died without obtaining his request. Felix was also struck by Divine Justice: the blood rushed from every part of his body, and issued day and night from his mouth. This total effusion of blood terminated his life, and he passed away into eternal death. Such were the judgments visited on iniquity.

CHAP. XIV.—CONVERSION OF A PRIEST'S SON.

A CERTAIN young man, the son of an idolatrous priest, who had been brought up in Paganism, was, about this time, led to embrace the true religion. A certain woman of great piety, who had been raised to the dignity of deaconess, was very in-

timate with his mother, and used frequently to visit her when he was a child : on these occasions she used to caress him and to exhort him to piety. In the mean time the mother died ; and the young man used then to repair to the woman to receive her instructions. When he was fully convinced of the truth of what she had imparted, he asked his teacher by what means he could throw off the superstition of his father, and follow out the truth which she had preached to him. She replied, that he must flee from his father, and honour his Creator above his earthly parent. She told him to go to some other city, and to remain there in concealment, lest he should fall into the hands of the impious emperor. She promised to take upon herself the management of this affair. The youth replied, " From henceforth I shall come to you ; and I commit my life into your keeping." A short time subsequently, Julian went to Daphne to hold a public festival. The father of this young man repaired thither also, because he was a priest, and had long been accustomed to follow the emperor. This young man and his brother accompanied their father. It was the custom for these youths to sprinkle water which had been offered to idols on the viands prepared for the emperor. The festival celebrated at Daphne usually lasted seven days. The first day of the festival, the young man above-mentioned stood by the couch of the emperor, and sprinkled the water on his food, according to custom ; but he had no sooner completed this iniquitous ceremony, than he hastened back to Antioch. He went to his admirable instructress, and said to her, " I am come to you, according to my promise ; do you fulfil yours, and take measures for my deliverance." She conducted him to Meletius, a man of God : he kept the young man concealed for a long time in part of his house. The father, after having traversed Daphne in search of his son, returned to Antioch, ran through all the streets of the city, and examined every spot, anxiously seeking some traces of him. When he arrived at the quarter of the city where the house of St. Meletius was situated, he looked up, and perceived his son, peeping through the rails. He ran into the house, seized him, and led him away. He took him home, and immediately flogged him severely ; he then took a pointed instrument, made it red hot, and forced it into his hands, feet, and back. After that he shut him up in a room, fastened it

securely outside, and returned to Daphne. I have heard all these incidents related by the son himself in his old age. He likewise told us that, being inspired with divine grace, he destroyed all his father's idols, and ridiculed their helplessness; and that afterwards, on reflecting on what he had done, he dreaded the return of his father, and called upon the Lord Christ to assist him, and to burst the bolts of the door, saying, "These things have I done and suffered for thy sake. As I was saying these words," continued he, "the bolts fell down, and the doors burst open. I then ran back to my teacher. She disguised me in the dress of a female, and drove with me in a vehicle to St. Meletius. He gave me into the care of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, with whom I set out by night for Palestine." After the death of Julian, he led his father to receive the truth. This, with many other incidents, he related to us. Such is the delivery wrought out for those who are brought to the knowledge of God.

CHAP. XV.—MARTYRDOM OF THE TWO ROMANS, JUVENTIUS AND MAXIMUS.

JULIAN continued to oppose religion with greater and greater boldness and effrontery, while he assumed the specious appearance of clemency, in order to lay snares to entrap men, and seduce them to irreligion. He cast things offered to idols into the fountains of the city of Antioch, and into those of Daphne, so that no one could drink of the streams without partaking of the hateful sacrifices. He defiled in the same way everything that was sold in the market-place; for he had water which had been offered to idols sprinkled on the bread, meat, fruit, herbs, and all the other articles of food. The Christians wept and lamented at witnessing these abominations, yet they partook of the food according to the precept of the apostle; for it is said, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience' sake" (1 Cor. x. 25). Two of the emperor's guards, who were his shield-bearers and companions in arms, vehemently deplored, at a certain convivial party, the perpetration of such hateful deeds, and borrowed the admirable words used by the young man who gained so high a celebrity at Babylon: "You have delivered us," they said, "to a monarch who is more wicked than all the nations

of the earth." One of those at table acquainted the emperor with this speech. The emperor sent for these two men, and asked what it was that they had said. This question giving them an opportunity of speaking freely, they, in the warmth of their zeal, made the following reply: "Having been brought up, O emperor, in the true religion, and having been accustomed to obey the admirable laws enacted by Constantine, and by his sons, we cannot but be deeply grieved at witnessing everything filled with abominations, and the very food contaminated by being mixed with the sacrifices offered to idols. We have lamented over this in our own houses, and now, in your presence, we publicly express our regret. This is the only cause of sorrow which we experience under your government." On hearing these words, the mildest and wisest of emperors, as he is called by those who resemble him, threw off the mask of clemency, and disclosed his real impiety. Such excruciating tortures were at his order inflicted on these two men, that they expired under them; or, rather, they obtained a release from the misery of the age, and received the crowns of victory. It was declared, that their boldness of speech, and not the religion which they defended, was the cause of their execution. they were punished, it was said, because they had insulted the emperor. This account of the transaction Julian ordered to be universally circulated; for he was apprehensive lest these champions of truth should obtain the honour of being regarded as martyrs. Their names were Juventius and Maximus. The church of Antioch honoured them as defenders of religion, and interred them in a magnificent tomb; and even to this day an annual festival is celebrated in their honour.

CHAP. XVI.—BANISHMENT OF VALENTINIAN, WHO SUBSEQUENTLY BECAME EMPEROR.

OTHER persons, who had attained to high and honourable offices, gained the same crown by speaking with similar boldness. Valentinian ascended the throne a short time subsequently: but he was, at this period, the commander¹ of the soldiers who guarded the palace; he did not dissemble the zeal which he felt for religion. One day, as the emperor was

¹ Χιλιάρχος.

entering the temple of Fortune with great exultation, while two priests stood on each side of the door to sprinkle water on whoever they might deem fit; some of the water was thrown upon the robe of Valentinian, who was walking before the emperor. He immediately struck the priest, and told him that he had defiled instead of cleansing him. By this act he deserved to obtain both empires. Julian, who witnessed the deed, banished him to a fortress situated by a desert. But scarcely had one year and a few months elapsed, when his fidelity to the faith was rewarded by the possession of the imperial authority. It is not only in this life that piety is rewarded by Divine Justice. Yet even here, good works receive those recompences which are as a foretaste and the earnest of the future blessedness for which we hope.

The tyrant adopted another stratagem against religion. It was an ancient usage for the emperor to sit upon his throne, and to distribute pieces of gold among his soldiery. But, contrary to custom, he ordered incense and fire to be placed on a table near the altar; and he commanded, that whoever should come forward to receive the gold, should first throw incense upon the altar, and should then receive the gold from his hand. Many persons did not discern the trap which was laid for them: those who did perceive it avoided the snare by feigning illness. Others, grasping after the money, neglected their own salvation. Others, from cowardice, betrayed their religion.

CHAP. XVII.—OTHER CONFESSORS OF THE FAITH.

AFTER this destructive distribution of money, some of those who had accepted it met together at table. One of them, taking up a goblet, made on it the sign of the cross before he drank. He was reprov'd for doing so by one of the others, who told him, that this act was quite inconsistent with what he had so recently done. He asked what act of inconsistency he had committed. He was told that he had offered incense upon the altar of idols, and had denied the faith, and that this was contrary to the Christian religion. On hearing this, many of those who were at table uttered exclamations of grief and distress, tore their hair, and ran out into the market-place, loudly proclaiming that they were Christians, and that they

had been deceived and inveigled by the artifices of the emperor,¹ and that they desired to retract the error into which they had been led through ignorance. They ran shouting these words till they reached the palace, and there they inveighed against the deception of the tyrant, and demanded to be burnt alive; because, as they had been defiled by means of fire, they also desired to be cleansed by fire. These, and similar declarations, excited the fury of the emperor. He immediately ordered their heads to be struck off. As they were being led out of the city, the people followed in crowds, admiring their fortitude and boldness in defending religion. When they had arrived at the place where executions generally took place, the eldest of the company requested the executioner to behead the youngest person present first, in order that his courage might not be shaken by witnessing the slaughter of the others. The youngest man had already knelt upon the ground, and the executioner had unsheathed his sword, when an act of pardon was brought, and shouts proceeding from afar prohibited the massacre. The young man was angry at having escaped the sentence of death, and exclaimed, "Romanus (for that was his name) is not worthy of being called the martyr of Christ." The emperor, in prohibiting this massacre, was actuated by the most malign jealousy; for he envied them the glory of martyrdom. He would not, however, permit these soldiers to continue to dwell in any of the cities, but banished them to the farthest extremities of the Roman empire.

CHAP. XVIII.—MARTYRDOM OF ARTEMIUS.

ARTEMIUS, who held the office of military commander in Egypt, having, during the reign of Constantine, destroyed some idols, was, in consequence, not only deprived of all his property, but was also beheaded. Such were the actions of him who was called by the irreligious party, "The mildest and the least passionate of men." I shall here relate an admirable deed performed by a woman; for women were likewise

¹ Gregory Nazianzen vehemently inveighs against this deceit practised by the emperor Julian on his Christian soldiers, adding to the story as told by Theodoret, the fact that some of the soldiers who had received their pay from the emperor, as soon as they found out their mistake, cast it at his feet as a polluted and unholy thing.

animated by divine zeal, and enabled to despise the fury of the emperor.

CHAP. XIX.—BOLDNESS OF PUBLIA, THE DEACONESS, IN
ADHERING TO RELIGION.

A CERTAIN woman, named Publia, had about this time acquired great celebrity by her eminent virtues. She had been married a short time, and had had a child, which she had offered to God. This child, whose name was John, was afterwards enrolled among the presbytery at Antioch,¹ and was several times elected to the bishopric of Antioch; but he as often from modesty declined the dignity. She had at her house an assembly of young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and who continually sung the praises of the Creator and Saviour. When the emperor was passing, they sang louder than usual, to show the contempt with which they regarded his profanity: they chiefly sang those psalms in which the weakness of idols is derided; and they exclaimed, with David, "The idols of the nations are but silver and gold, the works of men's hands." And after having described the senselessness of idols, they said, "Let those who made them, and all those who trust in them, become like unto them." When Julian heard them singing, he was much vexed, and commanded them to be silent whenever he should pass that way. Far from obeying this mandate, Publia directed the virgins to sing still louder than before, and to repeat this verse, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." Julian, more enraged than ever, desired that the leader of the choir should be brought before him. He showed no respect for her age or virtue; but called one of the soldiers, and commanded him to give her a blow on each side of the face. Publia esteemed this insult as the highest honour. She returned to her house, and continued to harass the emperor with spiritual songs, in the same way as he who wrote the psalms repressed the evil spirit which agitated Saul.

¹ It has been thought that this John was no other than St. John Chrysostom. Valesius, however, is of opinion that he is the John mentioned below, (book v. ch. 4,) and who was ordained by Meletius to the bishopric of Apamea.

CHAP. XX.—ATTEMPT MADE BY THE JEWS TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE, AND THE JUDGMENTS WHICH THEY SUFFERED IN CONSEQUENCE.

JULIAN, being possessed by the most evil demons, became like the Corybantes, and raved against religion. This fury led him to arm the Jews against the Christians. He sent for them, and asked them why they did not offer sacrifices according to the injunctions of the law. When they told him that it was written, that sacrifices should be offered only at Jerusalem, this impious man commanded them to rebuild their temple, foolishly imagining to confute the prediction of the Lord concerning it. Yet he thus manifested more fully the truth of the prophecy. The Jews, who had gladly hearkened to the proposal of the emperor, made it known to all those of their nation who were dispersed throughout the habitable globe. These eagerly hastened from all quarters, and joyfully offered their wealth and their labour in furtherance of so great a work. Julian also contributed largely to the enterprise, not from the love of honour, but merely to combat the truth; and he sent an officer worthy of superintending so impious an undertaking. It is even said that they had the spades, mattocks, and baskets made of silver. Innumerable multitudes of men began to dig the ground, and to bear away to a valley the mounds of earth dug from the excavations: but all the mounds which they carried away during the day, spontaneously returned during the night to their former location. They destroyed whatever remained of the edifice, in the hope of constructing it entirely anew. When they had succeeded in obtaining an immense quantity of plaster and of clay, violent winds, whirlwinds, and tempests arose, which scattered about these materials in all directions. As they could not be led by the long-suffering of God to desist from their evil attempts, a violent earthquake took place, which filled all those who had not been instructed in religion with terror and consternation. But as the Jews were not moved to fear by this occurrence, fire was made to burst from the excavations dug for the foundations. Many of those who were at work there were burnt, and all the others were compelled to flee. That night also a portico, within which many were sleeping, fell down, with the roof of the building, and all

those who were within it were destroyed. On that very night, and likewise on the following one, the figure of the Saviour's cross appeared in the heavens. The garments of the Jews seemed covered with crosses; but they were not radiant like those in the heavens, but were of a blackish hue. When they had thus perceived that God was hostile to their undertaking, they trembled lest still greater judgments should fall upon them: and they therefore returned to their own dwellings, confessing that He whom their forefathers had crucified was God in truth. These facts, being rumoured far and wide, reached the ears of Julian; but, like Pharaoh, he madly hardened his heart.

CHAP. XXI.—EXPEDITION OF JULIAN AGAINST PERSIA.

WHEN the Persians heard of the death of Constantius, they became more bold, and carried war into the Roman territories. Julian, accordingly, determined to march against them, although he had not God for his protection. He first sent, however, to the oracles of Delphi, of Delos, of Dodona, and of other places, to inquire whether he ought to enter upon the war. The oracles desired him to undertake it, and promised him the victory. I shall here insert the reply of one of these oracles, in order to demonstrate the imposture. It was couched in those words: "We, the gods, are ready to bear the trophies of victory along the river which bears the name of a wild beast. I, the fierce and warlike Mars, will lead the others." Those who style Apollo the god of eloquence and the patron of the Muses, must surely smile at the inanity of these words. I see through this imposture, and pity him who can be deceived. By the river bearing the name of a wild beast, Julian understood that the Tigris was meant. This river rises in the mountains of Armenia, flows through Assyria, and falls into the Persian Gulf. The wretched emperor being thus deceived by the oracles, promised himself the victory, and resolved that after he had terminated the Persian war, he would commence another against the Galileans. He named the Christians *Galileans*, in order to cast dishonour on them; but being a learned man he ought to have known that the mutation of a name could not lessen the estimation in which they were held. Had Socrates been called Critias, or had Pythagoras been

named Phalaris, this change of appellation would have thrown no aspersion on them. Had Nereus been called Thersites, none of that beauty which nature had conferred would have been diminished. But Julian had forgotten all these facts, although he had formerly been made well acquainted with them ; and he imagined that he was injuring us by giving us a name different from our own. He placed so much confidence in the lying oracles, that he threatened to erect on Christian churches the statue of the demon of licentiousness.

CHAP. XXII.—BOLDNESS OF A DECURION OF BERCEA.

BEFORE Julian had carried his numerous threats into execution, he was himself vanquished by one single man at Bercea. It is true that this man was rendered conspicuous by his high rank ; for he was invested with the office of a decurio in the city : but his zeal reflected a yet higher lustre upon his character. When he discovered that his son had apostatized to the dominant form of irreligion, he expelled him from his house, and publicly disinherited him. The son repaired to the emperor, who was then in the neighbourhood of the city, and acquainted him with his own change of sentiments, and of his having been disinherited by his father. The emperor desired the young man to be tranquil, and promised to reconcile his father to him. When he arrived at Bercea, he invited the principal citizens to a banquet. Amongst them was the father of the young man. He ordered the father and the son to sit upon the couch upon which he was himself reclining ; and in the midst of the repast he said to the father, "It does not seem just to me to force the inclinations of any one. Do not then constrain those of your son, but allow him to adopt whatever doctrines he may please. I do not compel you," continued he, "to follow my religion, although I could most easily oblige you to do so." Then the father, inspired by divine faith, replied as follows : "Do you speak to me, O emperor, in favour of a wicked and impious creature who has preferred falsehood to truth ?" The emperor, with a specious appearance of gentleness, here interrupted him, saying, "I beg you to desist from all invectives." Then turning towards the youth, he said, "I shall myself take care of you, since I cannot persuade *your father* to do so." I have not related this incident with-

out a motive ; for I desired not only to record the bold fidelity of this admirable man, but also to show that the power of the tyrant was despised by many individuals.

CHAP. XXIII.—PREDICTION OF A SCHOOLMASTER.

THERE was in Antioch a very illustrious man, who held the office of public teacher, and who, possessing much more erudition than the generality of schoolmasters, was received on terms of intimacy by Libanus, a celebrated sophist and one of the most learned men of the time. This latter was a Pagan, and expecting from the threats of Julian that idolatry would speedily become triumphant over Christianity, asked the schoolmaster in derision of our religion what the son of the carpenter was doing. The other, filled by the grace of God, predicted what would shortly happen. “The Creator of the universe,” said he, “whom you deride, and call the son of the carpenter, is now preparing a bier.” A few days after, the death of the tyrant was announced, and his body was carried to the city on a bier. Thus his threats were made vain, and God was glorified.

CHAP. XXIV.—PROPHECY OF ST. JULIAN, A MONK.

JULIAN, whose name, in the Syrian language, was Sabbas, led a spiritual life, although he was still in the body. I have written his history in my work entitled “Philotheus.”¹ He became more earnest in offering supplications to God when he was informed of the threats of Julian. On the same day that Julian received the stroke of death, the event was revealed to him as he was at prayer, although his monastery was situated at a distance of more than twenty days’ journey from the Roman camp. For it is said that while he was presenting his supplications to God with tears and lamentations, his tears suddenly ceased to flow, and his face assumed a joyful and serene expression, showing forth the gladness of his soul. Some of his friends, remarking this change, inquired the cause of his joy ; he told them, that the wild boar which had ravaged

¹ See the list of works written by Theodoret in the Life prefixed to this volume.

the vineyard of the Lord had received the just recompence of his unlawful deeds, that he was lying dead, and that his evil designs were averted. All those present rejoiced on receiving this information; and expressed their thankfulness to God by singing hymns. Those who afterwards announced the emperor's death affirmed that it took place on the very day and hour predicted by the blessed old man.

CHAP. XXV.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN IN PERSIA.

THE imprudence of the emperor was manifested by the mode of his death. When he and his army had passed the river which separates the Persian from the Roman dominions, he burnt his ships, in order that the soldiery might fight not by persuasion but by compulsion. The most distinguished commanders have always inspired their troops with alacrity, and when discouragements have arisen, they have roused their expectations and animated their hopes. But this emperor, on the contrary, discouraged his soldiers by burning the vessels, and destroying their hopes of returning to their own country. In addition to this act of imprudence, the wise emperor neglected to provide the requisite supplies of food for his army; for he neither directed provisions to be brought from the provinces of his own empire, nor did he take measures to obtain them by making depredations on the enemy's territories. He led his troops far away from all inhabited places, and made them march through a desert. Oppressed by hunger and by thirst, and without any efficient guide, the soldiers were compelled to wander about in the desert, through the imprudence of this wisest of emperors. In the very midst of their consequent complaints and lamentations, they beheld him who was madly contending with his Creator fall down wounded: he was unaided by the warlike Mars who had promised his support; unassisted by Apollo who had given so false and perplexing an oracle; and even Jove the Thunderer did not hurl one of his thunder-bolts against him by whom he was slain. Thus were his threats overthrown, and shown to be vain. No one knows even to this day by whom this mortal blow, which he had so justly deserved, was inflicted. Some say that it was by one of the invisible order of beings, others that it was by *the hand of an individual belonging to one of the nomadic*

tribes generally called Ishmaelites ; others say that he was killed by a soldier reduced to despair by hunger, and by wandering in the desert. But whether the sword were that of an angel or of a man, certain it is that whoever committed the deed was but the instrument of the Divine will. It is said that directly after he had received the wound, Julian took some of the blood in his hand, and threw it up towards heaven, saying, " Galilean ! thou hast conquered ! " So great was his stupidity, that thus, at one and the same instant, he acknowledged his defeat, and gave utterance to blasphemy.

CHAP. XXVI.—ABOMINABLE SORCERIES DETECTED, AFTER THE DEATH OF JULIAN, AT CARRAS.

AFTER the murder of Julian, his magical arts and incantations were discovered. At Carras may even now be seen vestiges of his impiety. When this foolish man was passing through this city, (for he had left the city of Edessa, on account of the reputation enjoyed by its inhabitants for piety,) he entered an idolatrous temple with his associates, committed some infamous crimes, and then ordered the gates to be closed, and the place to be guarded by soldiers, so that no one might enter until his return. After his death, when a religious prince had succeeded to his throne, the interior of the temple was examined. A woman was discovered suspended by the hair ; her hands were stretched out, and her stomach was cut open. This had been done by the infamous emperor, who had sought to learn the issue of the Persian war by the inspection of her liver. Thus was the hateful deed detected at Carras.

CHAP. XXVII.—HEADS OF MEN FOUND IN THE PALACE OF ANTIOCH.

It is said that in Julian's palace at Antioch several chests were found full of the heads of men ; and that many dungeons were discovered filled with dead bodies. Such are the lessons inculcated by the abominable gods.

CHAP. XXVIII.—PUBLIC REJOICINGS IN ANTIOCH.

AS soon as the death of Julian was known in Antioch, public festivals were celebrated. The victory of the cross was extolled, and the imposture of the oracles was ridiculed, not only in the churches and in the assemblies of the martyrs, but also in the theatres. I shall now record an admirable speech made by the citizens of Antioch, in order that it may be preserved in our memory. They all exclaimed with one voice, "Where now are thy predictions, O foolish Maximus? God and Christ have prevailed against thee." This Maximus was a philosopher of that time, who was engaged in magical arts, and who boasted of being able to predict the future. Julian perceived very clearly the horror with which his evil and impure deeds were regarded by the inhabitants of Antioch; for they, having been instructed in the Divine doctrines by Peter and by Paul, ardently loved the Lord of all and the Saviour. On this account, Julian wrote a book against them, entitled "Aversion to Beards."¹

I shall conclude this book with this mention of the public rejoicings at the death of the tyrant. It would not be right to connect the reign of a pious prince with the sway of an impious tyrant.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.—REIGN AND PIETY OF JOVIAN.

UPON the death of Julian, the governors of the provinces, and the military commanders, assembled together to determine who was capable of wielding the imperial power, of extricating the army from the enemy's country, and of raising the affairs of the Romans from the critical state to which they had been reduced by the rashness of the late emperor. In the mean time the soldiers likewise assembled, and demanded Jovian for their emperor. He was neither a general nor a tribune, but was an exemplary man, and distinguished by many natural endowments. He was of very tall stature, and

¹ Μισοπώγων.

his mind was of a high order. He had always manifested great valour in battle, and also in conflicts far more perilous than those of war; for he had already spoken with boldness against impiety, without fearing the power of the tyrant, and had exhibited as much courage as was displayed by the martyrs of our Saviour. The generals considered the unanimity of the soldiers' decision as an indication of the Divine will; they therefore conducted Jovian into the midst of them all, and placed him upon a temporary throne which they had hastily erected. When he was saluted by all as Emperor, and called Augustus and Cæsar, this admirable man, with his usual frankness, and without fearing the power of the chiefs, or the inconstancy¹ of the soldiery, spoke as follows:—"Being a Christian myself, I cannot assume authority over such men as you are: I cannot govern the troops of Julian, for they have imbibed pernicious doctrines; and persons of such principles, being unsupported by Divine grace, fall an easy prey to their enemies, and are ridiculed by them." On hearing this the soldiers replied with one voice:—"Do not hesitate, O emperor, or shrink from accepting authority over us, as if we held impious sentiments; you will reign over Christians: over those who were brought up in the true religion. The most aged among us have been instructed in doctrine by Constantine, and the others by Constantius; and the reign of the late emperor was too short to efface the remembrance of the principles which we had imbibed."

CHAP. II.—RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

THE emperor, being satisfied with this answer, turned all his attention to the restoration of public prosperity, and to the extrication of the army from the enemy's country. He did not spend much time in deliberation, but speedily enjoyed the fruits of his piety, for God granted him his protection, and delivered him from all his difficulties. The king of Persia, hearing of his having been elected to the empire, sent deputies to treat of peace. He also sent food to the army in the

¹ Valesius understands this term to refer not to fickleness, properly so called, but to the changes of religion from Christianity to heathenism, which many of the soldiers had made under Julian, though, as is clear from b. iii. ch. 17, that some had stood firm, even unto death.

desert. Jovian concluded a truce of thirty years, and conducted the army home in safety. The first edict which he issued on his return to his empire, was for the recall of the bishops from exile, and for the reinstatement of those bishops who adhered to the Nicean confession of faith. He wrote to Athanasius, who was the most distinguished of those who defended the faith, desiring him to send him an accurate account of the Divine doctrines. Athanasius, after calling together the most erudite of the bishops, wrote back to the emperor exhorting him to maintain the faith set forth at Nice, as being conformable with the doctrines of the apostles. I shall insert this letter for the benefit of my readers.

CHAP. III.—SYNODICAL LETTER RESPECTING THE FAITH ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR JOVIAN BY ST. ATHANASIUS.

“To the very religious, most benevolent, and victorious Augustus Jovian, from Athanasius¹ and the other bishops assembled in person, from all Egypt, from Thebes, and from Libya.

“It is right for a pious emperor to seek and long after the knowledge of heavenly things. It clearly proves that your heart is in the hand of God, and that you will govern the empire in tranquillity during a long course of years. As you piously desire to learn from us the faith of the Catholic church, we have, after rendering thanks on your behalf to God, determined above all things to propound to you the faith confessed by our fathers at Nice. Some having renounced this faith, have laid various snares for us because we would not be led into the Arian heresy. These persons are the authors of heresy and of schism in the Catholic church. The true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ can be apprehended by all, for it may be both learnt and read in the Holy Scriptures. It was in this faith that the saints were perfected by martyrdom; they are now freed from all bondage, and are in the Lord. This faith would have continued for ever in all its purity, had it not been corrupted by the daring attacks of heretics. Arius, and others with him, endeavoured to destroy

¹ Valesius assents to the opinion of Baronius, who in his Annals (A. D. 363) considers that this letter was written by Athanasius in the Synod of Egyptian bishops held at Alexandria, on receiving the edict of the emperor Jovian.

it, and to exalt irreligion in its stead, by saying that the Son of God was called out of nothing into being, that He is a creature, and a work, and that He is subject to change. Numbers were deceived by them, and many of those who held the most prominent place in the church were led away by their blasphemies. When our holy fathers assembled, as we have already stated, at the council of Nice, they anathematized the heresy of Arianism. They drew up in writing a confession of the faith of the Catholic church, and by the preaching of this faith in every place all the heresies which have been framed by heretics have been overthrown. This faith was known and preached everywhere, and in every church. But some persons, desiring to renew the Arian heresy, have had the temerity to renounce the confession of faith made by our fathers at Nice, while others, who appear to receive it, do in fact deny it, by giving a false interpretation to the word 'consubstantial,' and by uttering blasphemies against the Holy Ghost, saying that he was made by the Son;¹ we therefore perceive that to prevent these blasphemies from proving injurious to the people, it is necessary to place before you the Nicean confession of faith; in order that you may know with what accuracy it was written, and also how great is the error of those who espouse other doctrines. Know then, O most religious Augustus, that this faith which was confessed by our fathers at Nice was preached in the beginning of the gospel, and has received the assent of the churches of all places—namely, of those of Spain, Britain, and Gaul, of all Italy, Campania, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Macedonia, of all Greece, of all those of Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus and Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria, of all Egypt and Libya, Pontus, Cappadocia, and of neighbouring countries, and of all the Eastern churches, with the exception of a few who advocate Arian doctrines. We have learnt by experience the sentiments of all the aforesaid churches, having been engaged in correspondence with them. And we know, O most religious Augustus, that the few who oppose this faith cannot

¹ Theodoret alludes to the two factions of the Arian party, the one of whom totally rejected the Divinity of Jesus Christ, while the others received that doctrine only in a limited and qualified sense. Among the latter class were the Macedonians, to whom allusion is made in the concluding words of the text.

prevail against all the churches of the universe, by whom it is maintained. As these persons have been long under the injurious influence of Arianism, they resist religion with much pertinacity. In order that you may know what articles of faith were confessed at Nice by three hundred and eighteen bishops,¹ the confession shall be here inserted. It is as follows :—

“ We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, who is of the substance of the Father, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten and not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things in heaven and on earth were made. Who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and took upon him our nature, and became man, and suffered death. He rose again the third day and ascended into heaven; and he will come again to judge the living and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy catholic and apostolic church pronounces condemnation on those who say that there was a time when the Son of God existed not, that before he was begotten he was not, that he was formed out of nothing, or that he is of a different hypostasis or substance from the Father, that he is a creature, or that he is subject to change.’

“ It is necessary, O beloved Augustus, to maintain this faith, for it is divine and apostolical, and no one ought to pervert it by specious arguments, or by contentious words, as has been done from the beginning by the Arians, who have pretended that the Son of God was formed out of nothing, that there was a period when he had no existence, that he is a creature and a work, and that he is subject to change. It was on this account that the council of Nice anathematized the Arian heresy, as we have stated above, and propounded an exposition of the truth. In this formulary it is not merely said that the Son is like the Father, lest it should be believed that He is only similar to God; but it is written that he is consubstantial with God, and this is an expression which can only be used with respect to the true Son, begotten of the Father. This exposition does not speak of the Holy Ghost

¹ Compare note on Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* b. i. ch. 8, and see also *Eva-
grius, Eccl. Hist.* b. iii. ch. 31.

as separate from the Father and the Son, but renders glory to Him, and the Father, and the Son, in the faith of the one holy Trinity, and recognises the same Divine nature in three persons."

CHAP. IV.—REVENUES RESTORED TO THE CHURCHES.

THE perusal of this letter confirmed the notions respecting divine things which the emperor had formed. He enacted another law commanding the supply of corn to be granted to the churches which Constantine the Great had granted. Julian had withdrawn the grant when he took up arms against our God and Saviour. But as the famine which had taken place on account of Julian's impiety did not permit the quantity appointed by Constantine to be supplied, Jovian ordered the third part to be distributed, and promised that the rest should be restored on the cessation of the famine.

CHAP. V.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR.

AFTER having distinguished the commencement of his reign by the enactment of such laws, Jovian left Antioch to go towards the Bosphorus. When he had arrived at Dadastana, a village lying between Bithynia and Galatia, he died. He was well prepared for quitting this life ; but his death caused great grief to all who had experienced the mildness of his administration. I think that the Supreme Ruler of the universe exhibits blessings to our gaze, and then deprives us of them, in order to repress the evil that is in us, and to teach us how easily He can bestow whatever He thinks fit ; thus proving to us that we are unworthy of blessings, and urging us on to a better course of life.

CHAP. VI.—ACCESSION OF VALENTINIAN.—VALENS HIS BROTHER ASSOCIATED WITH HIM IN THE GOVERNMENT.

THE soldiers, on hearing of the death of the emperor, deplored their loss as if he had been their father. They proclaimed Valentinian emperor, who had been banished to a fortress, a short time previously, for having struck a priest.

He was not only possessed of courage, but was also prudent, temperate, and just, and was besides adorned with many personal attractions. He had so much greatness of mind, that when the soldiers proposed to associate a colleague with him in the government, he made the following memorable reply. "When there was no emperor it depended upon you to place in my hands the reins of empire. But now that I have received them, it is my office, and not yours, to direct public affairs." The soldiers admired this answer, and acted ever after in subjection to his authority. He sent for his brother from Pannonia, and gave him a share in the government. This was by no means a prudent measure, although his brother had not at that period imbibed corrupt doctrines. He gave him the government of Asia and of Egypt, reserving that of Europe for himself. He then went to the West and established the observance of justice, and the preaching of religion. Auxentius,¹ bishop of Milan, who had been excommunicated by several councils, on account of having embraced the errors of Arianism, died about this time. The emperor, in consequence of this event, sent for the bishops, and addressed them in the following words, "You who have so deeply studied the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, must be well acquainted with what qualities are required in those who are raised to the office of the priesthood. You also know that it is necessary that they should instruct the people, not by precept only, but by example, and by living in the practice of every virtue, and that they should attest the truth of their doctrines by their life and conversation. Place, therefore, in the bishopric of this city a man to whose authority we who are at the head of the empire may sincerely bow our heads,² and whose reprimands we may be able to receive as salutary medicine; for we are men and are liable to fall."

¹ Theodoret here observes no correct order of time: for the death of Auxentius happened A. D. 374, ten years after the accession of the emperor Valentinian.

² This was the posture in which it was customary for the faithful to receive the episcopal blessing when they met their bishop. Compare Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. b. viii. ch. 13, and the 3rd Hom. of St. John Chrysostom to the people of Antioch.

CHAP. VII.—ORDINATION OF AMBROSE TO THE CHURCH
OF MILAN.

WHEN the emperor had ceased speaking, the synod signified to him that such reliance was placed on his wisdom and piety, that it was desired that he should himself elect a bishop to the vacant office. But he replied, "This undertaking is beyond my ability. You, who are filled with Divine grace, and who have received Divine light, are better able to make the election than I am." The bishops, therefore, left the palace, and held a conference together. The citizens in the mean time assembled tumultuously, and contended about the election. Those who had received the pernicious opinions of Auxentius demanded to have a bishop of the same sentiments. While those who had adhered to sound doctrines desired a pastor of the same faith as themselves. Ambrose, who was then governor of the province, hearing of the dissensions, and fearing that a sedition would ensue, hastened to the church. At his appearance all disputes ceased; and the contending parties declared with one voice that they chose Ambrose as their bishop. He had not then been baptized. The emperor, on being informed of the election of the people, ordered that the object of their choice should be immediately baptized and ordained; for he was acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his sentiments, and he regarded the unanimous consent of the opposite faction as a proof of the Divine will. After Ambrose had received the holy rite of baptism, and had been invested with the episcopal dignity, the excellent emperor, who was present during the ceremony, returned thanks to the Lord and Saviour in the following words: "I thank thee, O Lord Almighty, that Thou hast committed the charge of souls to the very man whom I had appointed to that of the persons of my subjects, and for having thus demonstrated my choice to have been just."

A few days afterwards, as St. Ambrose was talking with much freedom to the emperor, he blamed the enormities committed by the heads of government in the discharge of their functions. "I have long observed," replied the emperor, "your fearless independence of speech, yet I did not on this account oppose your ordination; on the contrary, I consented

to it. Deal with the diseases of our soul in the mode that is inculcated by the Divine law." These things were said and done by the emperor at Milan.

Being informed that disputes had arisen in Asia and in Phrygia respecting religious doctrines, the emperor commanded that a council should be held in Illyria; and he afterwards sent an account of the decrees and decisions of this council to those who were then engaged in dispute. The bishops assembled in Illyria decreed that the confession of faith signed at Nice should be universally established. The emperor also wrote to exhort the disputants to acquiesce in the decree; and in this letter he conjoined his brother's name with his own. I shall introduce it here, because, while it clearly evinces the piety of Valentinian, it shows that at that period Valens held orthodox doctrines.

CHAP. VIII.—LETTER FROM THE EMPERORS VALENTINIAN AND VALENS, ADDRESSED TO THE DIOCESES OF ASIA RESPECTING CONSUBSTANTIALITY.

"THE great and victorious emperors¹ Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, to the diocesan bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia, and Pacatiana. Peace be unto you in the Lord.

"The council assembled in Illyria have declared after a prolonged and accurate examination of the subject, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of the same substance. The members of the council do not swerve either from this doctrine, or from the public duties of their office; and they duly obey the Lord of all. We have ordered this doctrine to be preached. We would not that any person should be able to say that he followed the religion of the Monarch of the earth, without regard to the doctrines revealed for our salvation. For in the gospel of God we find the following precept, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' What do you, O bishops, who are intrusted with the words of salvation, say to this? If your faith be in accordance with that which we have propounded, then you will love one another, and will desist from

¹ Baronius in his Annals, A. D. 365, attributes this letter to Valens alone.

abusing the authority of the emperor. Do not persecute¹ those who serve God faithfully, who arrest by their prayers the course of war, and who repel the attacks of apostate angels. For they drive away all evil demons by their perseverance in supplications ; they bring to the public treasuries whatever sums are enjoined by law, and they do not resist the power of the government ; they sincerely observe the commands of God the Supreme Ruler, while at the same time they submit to our laws. But you have shown yourselves to be opposed to our authority. We legislated for you from the first to the last, but you abandoned yourselves to evil. We desire to be innocent of your guilt ; even as Pilate when he had questioned Christ, not desiring to slay him nor to give up to those who called out for him, turned towards the east,² and taking water washed his hands, saying, ‘ I am innocent of the blood of this Just One.’ So in the same way have we commanded that those who labour in the field of Christ are not to be persecuted nor oppressed, and that the stewards of the Great Ruler are not to be driven away ; for we would not that your wickedness should reach a greater height during our reign, lest you should be led to trample upon the covenant of God, as was the case when the blood of Zacharias was shed.³ But the evil demon and those with whom he had co-operated were destroyed by Jesus Christ our King at the time of his coming down from above, and were given over to the punishment of death.

“ The above decision was made in the presence of Megetius, Cicero, Damasus, Dailampus, and Vetradius. We send you the decrees of the council that you may know what was there enacted. We subjoin the following brief summary of the doctrines of the council.

“ ‘ We confess, according to the enactment of the great orthodox council, that the Son is of the same substance as the Father. We do not attach the same meaning to the

¹ He forbids the Arian party to persecute the orthodox adherents of the Nicene creed.

² This fact is not recorded in any of the four Gospels : Valesius thinks that Theodoret found it in the Epistle according to the Hebrews. It was more probably a current tradition of the country, and one familiar therefore to the Eastern bishops.

³ Allusion is here made to “ Zacharias the son of Barakias,” who was slain “ between the temple and the altar ” a little before the time of our Lord. (St. Luke xi. 51.)

term *con-substantial* as did those who formerly signed the formulary, nor as those persons still do who call the others their fathers ;¹ they set aside the true force of the word, and follow those who wrote that *similarity* only is signified by the term *con-substantial*, inasmuch as the Son is not similar to any of the other creatures which were made by Him, but bears resemblance to the Father alone. For those who thus explain the term, teach that the Son of God is a creature, which is great impiety, although they admit his superiority over other creatures. We believe, like the councils recently held at Rome and in Gaul, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have but one and the same substance in three persons, that is to say, in three perfect natures. We confess likewise, according to the Nicæan formulary, that the Son of God is of the same substance as the Father, that he took the form of man, was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he sojourned with men. That for our salvation he was born, suffered, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven. We believe that He will come again in a visible manner at the day of judgment, to give to every one according to his deeds, and that His divine power will then be manifested ; for it was not man who was invested with Divinity, but it was God who assumed the form of humanity. We condemn those who hold other opinions. We also condemn those who do not sincerely anathematize him who said that, previous to being begotten, the Son existed not, but that before he was begotten he was power in the Father. For this is true of all the creatures which have not always been with God ; but the Son is ever with God, having been begotten from all eternity.² ”

This was the summary of the faith drawn up by the emperor. I shall now insert that of the council.

CHAP. IX.—EPISTLE OF THE COUNCIL CONVENED IN ILLYRIA RESPECTING THE FAITH.²

“THE bishops of Illyria to the churches of God, and to the diocesan bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia, and Papatiana. Peace be unto you.

¹ That is, those who were called “ fathers ” by the Semi-Arian party. See Socrates, Eccles. Hist. b. ii. sub fin.

² This council Baronius assigns to the year A. D. 365. Valesius would place it A. D. 371.

“ Having assembled together, and having searched into the words of salvation, we have been convinced that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are con-substantial. It is right that we should communicate with you by letter, not for the purpose of explaining the mystery of the Trinity by sophistical reasoning, but in order to advert to the subject with humility, in the hope of grace being accorded to us. We have sent this letter by Elpidius the presbyter, our beloved brother and fellow-labourer. The following are words not to be found in the volumes written by men, but in the book of our Saviour Jesus Christ: ‘I am of Paul, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ. Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?’ (1 Cor. i. 12, 13.) We might have omitted writing to you on account of the horror which was felt throughout all the provinces, when you proclaimed that the Holy Ghost is separate from the Father and from the Son; but we deemed it requisite to send to you from the metropolis of the Roman empire our fellow-labourer the lord Elpidius,¹ for the purpose of delivering this letter² to you, and of ascertaining whether this doctrine is really preached by you. For whoever does not preach that the three Persons of the Trinity are con-substantial, let him be anathema. And whoever holds communion with those of such sentiments, let him also be anathema. But those are the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven who preach at all times, and in every place, that the three Divine Persons are con-substantial. We exhort you then, brethren, not to hold or teach any other doctrine, but always to preach that the three Persons of the Trinity are of the same substance, in order that you may be the inheritors of the kingdom of God. ✓

“ Having written these things, we proceed to speak about the election of bishops. On the death of a bishop, if any one of his family be capable of the office, the vacant appointment

¹ Baronius considers that this Elpidius was a Roman presbyter, but Valesius imagines that he was one of the Illyrian bishops, and probably the same Elpidius to whom Basil the Great addressed his 322nd Letter. ✓

² The epistle of the synod held at Rome and of Pope Damasus, which they had given with their own letters to Elpidius, that he might go on his embassy into Asia duly fortified with authority. For this embassy, adds Valesius, could not have been undertaken without the authority of the Roman pontiff. The epistle itself is to be found above, book ii. chap. 22

must be given to him;¹ but otherwise one of the presbytery must be elected to fill it. In the same way the offices of presbyter and of deacon must be conferred only on the clergy, in order that they may be irreproachable. Such appointments must not be given to those who belong to the court or to the army. We have not written to you at greater length because we have sent our colleague, the lord Elpidius, who will ascertain what doctrine is preached by you, and whether it be that which was intimated to us by Eustathius our lord and fellow-minister. If you were then deceived, throw off now the old man, and put on the new. Elpidius, our brother and fellow-minister, will teach you how to declare the true faith, which is, that the holy and con-substantial God the Father, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is sanctified, glorified, and manifested: the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, with the Holy Ghost, unto all ages. When this doctrine has been made evident to you, we shall all agree in confessing that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are con-substantial, according to the ancient formulary of the faith drawn up at Nice, and established by the fathers. By preaching this doctrine we shall escape the snares of the evil demon. When we have overcome him, we will keep up a friendly intercourse with you by letter, and we will live in peace. We subjoin for your information the names of those who have been deposed on account of Arianism, for they would not confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be con-substantial. Their names are as follows: Polychronicus, Telemachus, Faustus, Asclepiades, Amantius, and Cleopater.²

“May all things be to the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, Amen. We pray to the Father, and to the Son our Saviour Christ, with the Holy Ghost, that you may enjoy prosperity and health for many years to come.”

¹ The text and meaning here are both ambiguous: we have given the version to which Valesius is disposed to adhere, as being the simplest and best.

² It is supposed by Valesius that these were all bishops of Iliyna.

CHAP. X.—HERESY OF THE AUDIANS.

THUS did this emperor, who was so worthy of the highest praise, endeavour to preserve the purity of the apostolical doctrines. About the same period, Audius, a native of Syria, promulgated some new doctrines. He had devised these depraved doctrines some time previously, but now, for the first time, he made them public. Having never rightly understood these words, "Let us make man in our own image and in our likeness," he took it for granted that God had a human form and a body consisting of parts. In the Holy Scriptures the names of various parts of the human body are often given to the Divine modes of acting; but this is in order to meet the feebleness of men's minds, and to render the providential care of God more intelligible. To this impiety he added other errors. He adopted some of the foolish opinions of Manes, affirming that God, the Creator of the universe, made neither fire nor darkness. But the members of this and of similar sects keep their opinions concealed. They allege as a reason for having separated from our ecclesiastical assemblies, that some among us demand the most hateful usury, and that others carry on an illicit intercourse with unmarried women; while those, they say, who are free from these particular vices, admit all who practise them to communion. Such are the reasons which they advance to account for their schism, and to conceal the blasphemy of their doctrines. But this pretext is full of pride, and is derived from the doctrine of the Pharisees. These latter accused Him who was the Physician of the soul and of the body, and said to the holy apostles, "Why doth your Master eat with publicans and sinners?" (Matt. ix.) Of such men God thus spoke by the mouth of the prophet: "Those who say, Come not near to me, I am holier than thou, these are the smoke of my fury." (Isa. lxv.) But this is not the time to dwell upon their folly. I must proceed to the relation of the remainder of the narrative.

CHAP. XI.—HERESY OF THE MESSALIANS.

ABOUT the same time the heresy of the Messalians sprang up. Those who have rendered their name into Greek call them Euchites. Besides the above, they bear other appella-

tips. They are sometimes called Enthusiasts, because they regard the agitating influences of a demon by whom they are possessed as indications of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Those who have thoroughly imbibed this heresy shun all manual labour as a vice; they abandon themselves to sleep, and declare their dreams to be prophecies. The following were the leaders of this sect; Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermes, Symeon, and many others. They never seceded from communion with the church, because they believed that the holy food there provided was innoxious although useless. Whereas Christ the Lord, in allusion to this food, says, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood shall live for ever." Their great desire of concealing their error leads them shamelessly to deny it, even when convicted of it, and induces them to condemn in others the very sentiments which they hold themselves. Letoius, bishop of the church of Melitene, on finding that these errors were entertained in numerous monasteries, which were, in reality, so many caverns of robbers, set fire to them all in the plenitude of his zeal, and chased the wolves far away from the sheepfold. The celebrated Amphilochus was the bishop of the metropolis of Lycaonia, and therefore ruled over the whole province: on being apprized of the extension of this heresy, he preserved, by his vigilance, the flock committed to his care free from the contagion. The renowned Flavian, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, hearing that these sectarians were at Edessa, and that they disseminated their corrupt opinions throughout the neighbourhood, sent a body of monks to bring them to Antioch. They there denied the fact of their being infected with these doctrines, and declared that their accusers calumniated them, and bore false witness against them. Flavian requested Adelphius, who was an old man, to come to him; and, after desiring him in a kindly manner to sit down beside him, said to him, "We, O old man, who have lived a long time, must be better acquainted with human nature and with the inimical machinations of demons, and must also have learnt more respecting the supply of Divine grace, than the other persons of the assembly, who, being young, and not having yet acquired accurate information, are not capable of understanding spiritual discourses. Tell me, then, what you mean by saying, that the

hostile spirit departs when the Holy Spirit comes with grace?" The old man being gained over by these words, disclosed the hidden poison of this heresy: he said, that the holy rite of baptism was of no benefit to those who received it, and that perseverance in prayer alone could expel the demon which dwells within us; "because," said he, "every one who is born is, by nature, as much the slave of the demons as he is the descendant of the first man. When the demons are driven away by the fervency of prayer, the most Holy Spirit visits us, and gives sensible and visible signs of his own presence, by freeing the body from the perturbation of passion, and the soul from evil propensities; so that, henceforth, there is no more need of fasting for the subjugation of the body, nor of instruction for the restraint and direction of the soul. Whoever has enjoyed this visitation is delivered from all inward struggles; he clearly foresees the future, and gazes with his own eyes upon the Holy Trinity." Flavian, having thus discovered the fetid fountain-head of error, and having detected the evil streams which issued from it, said to this wretched old man, "You, who have grown old in sin, have convicted yourself by your own mouth, without any interposition on my part. Your own lips have borne witness against you." The unsound principles of these sectarians having been thus detected, they were expelled from Syria. They went to Pamphylia, and propagated their injurious heresy throughout the province.

CHAP. XII.—THE MODE IN WHICH VALENS WAS SEDUCED INTO HERESY.

I SHALL now proceed to relate the rest of the history; and shall describe the commencement of that tempest which excited so many evils in the church. Valens held the doctrines of the apostles when he was first put in possession of the imperial power. The Goths¹ having passed the Danube and invaded Thrace, he raised an army, intending to march against them. But he reflected, that he ought not to rush into danger destitute of the protection of Divine grace, but that he ought first to obtain the complete armour of God, by means of the holy rite of baptism. This was a wise and prudent reflection.

¹ See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxvii. chap. 5.

But his subsequent conduct evinced the weakness of his mind, and the ease with which he could be led away from the truth. A misfortune happened to him, similar to that which befell Adam, the first man. His wife enslaved him by her arguments, and he was captured, not by the spears of the enemy, but by the deceitful words of a woman. Having been herself insnared into the errors of Arianism, she entrapped her husband likewise, and they both fell into the deep pit of blasphemy. This catastrophe was mainly attributable to the influence of Eudoxius, who, at this period, was at the head of the church of Constantinople, and who was more capable of submerging it than of guiding it aright.

CHAP. XIII.—EXILE OF SOME BISHOPS OF EXTRAORDINARY VIRTUE.

EUDOXIUS then baptized the emperor, and made him swear that he would adhere to these impious doctrines, and that he would banish all those who held contrary opinions. Thus did Valens abandon the apostolical faith, and join the hostile party. A very short time subsequently, he fulfilled his promises and vows; for he expelled Melitius from Antioch, Eusebius from Samosata, and Pelagius from Laodicea. This latter had been betrothed when very young; but on his marriage day, he persuaded his bride to choose a life of chastity, and to accept fraternal affection instead of connubial love. Thus did he attain to perfect continence. He also successfully cultivated within himself all the other virtues; and on this account he was unanimously elected to the bishopric. But the moral beauty of his life and conversation was not heeded by the opponent of truth, who banished him to Arabia. Melitius was also exiled to Armenia, and Eusebius to Thrace. The latter had laboured in the cause of the gospel with apostolic zeal. On one occasion, hearing that several churches were destitute of pastors, he assumed the garb of a soldier,¹

¹ Valesius observes that Eusebius of Samosata thus violated the positive laws of the church, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit teaching him thus to withstand the fury of the Arians. He remarks that the best Christians threw aside all regard for the rules and canons of the Church when they saw the Faith endangered, and that their principle was this, "*Salus Ecclesie suprema lex esto.*"

placed a tiara on his head, and traversed Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, ordaining priests and deacons, and filling other vacant ecclesiastical offices ; and where he found bishops holding sentiments congenial with his own, he appointed them to the government of the deserted churches.

CHAP. XIV.—ACCOUNT OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.¹

I CONSIDER it requisite to inform those who may be unacquainted with the facts, of the courage and wisdom displayed by Eusebius, when he received the imperial mandate enjoining his banishment to Thrace. The officer who brought the mandate arrived in the evening. Eusebius desired him to be quiet, and to conceal the cause of his journey ; “ For if the multitude,” said he, “ who are all imbued with divine zeal, should learn your design, they will drown you, and I shall have to answer for your death.” After having, according to custom, celebrated the evening service,² the old man departed on foot during the night, accompanied by one of his domestics, who carried his pillow and a book. When he arrived at the banks of the Euphrates, which washes the walls of the city, he leaped into a ferry boat, and desired the rowers to convey him to Zeugma, which he reached at the break of day. In the mean time, the city of Samosata was filled with the sounds of weeping and lamentation ; for the servant of Eusebius had mentioned the mandate which his master had received, and had asked some of the people to bring certain books which were then required. All the citizens deplored the loss of their pastor ; and some of them rowed across the ford in quest of him. When they reached Zeugma, and saw him, they besought him with tears and lamentations to remain with them, and not to leave his flock exposed to the attacks of wolves. But when he read to them the precepts laid down by the apostle, enjoining obedience to princes and magistrates, they saw it would be

¹ Samosata is a city of Commagene, in Syria, on the Euphrates.

² Valesius understands these words to refer to the even-tide celebration of the mass, which was at this period customary in Lent. He asserts that the word λειτουργία is used exclusively for the solemnity of the mass. Such, doubtless, is the proper meaning of the term : but it is often used in a wider sense ; as for example, above in b. ii. ch. 27, with reference to the sacrament of baptism.

impossible to overrule his resolution ; and, accordingly, some of them presented him with gold, and others offered garments and servants. He accepted a few gifts from some of his intimate friends ; and after praying for them all, and exhorting them to defend with steadfastness the doctrines of the apostles, he set out for the Danube. The citizens returned to their homes, and exhorted each other to resist the attacks of the wolves.

CHAP. XV.—PIOUS ZEAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF SAMOSATA.

I SHALL relate some instances of the fervency and purity of the zeal of these citizens ; for I believe that it would be unjust not to perpetuate, by means of my writings, the remembrance of such actions. The Arians having, as I have already mentioned, deprived this exemplary flock of their shepherd, elected in his place an individual with whom none of the inhabitants of the city, whether poor or rich, servants or mechanics, husbandmen or gardeners, men or women, young or old, could hold communion. He was left quite alone ; no one ever calling to see him, or exchanging a word with him. It is, however, said, that his disposition was extremely gentle ; and this is proved by what I am about to relate. One day, when he went to bathe in the public baths, the attendants closed the doors, to prevent all those who might be inclined to come in from entering. Perceiving some of the people standing without, he ordered the doors to be thrown open, that they might be admitted to bathe with himself. Some of them accordingly entered ; and he, perceiving that they remained in a standing posture before him while he was bathing, advised them to take a hot bath likewise. But still they stood silent before him. Imagining that great deference towards himself was the cause of this conduct, he arose, and left the bath. These people believed that the water had been contaminated by his heresy, and ordered it to be let out and fresh water to be supplied. When he heard of this circumstance, he left the city ; thinking that he ought no longer to remain in a place where he was the object of public aversion and hatred. Upon this retirement of Eunomius from the town of Samosata, Lucius, who was truly a wolf and a deceiver of the flock, was elected as his successor by the Arians. But the flock, although destitute of a pastor,

fulfilled the functions of a pastor for itself, and preserved inviolate the apostolic doctrines. I shall now relate an incident, to show the universal abhorrence with which Lucius was regarded. Some young people were amusing themselves with playing at ball in the market-place. Lucius was passing by at the time, and the ball happened to fall beneath the feet of the ass on which he was mounted. The youths uttered loud exclamations, believing that the ball was contaminated. Lucius heard the cry, and desired one of his followers to remain behind to watch their proceedings. The youths lighted a fire, and hurled the ball through it, believing that by this process the ball would be purified. Although this was only a childish deed, and although it exhibits the remains of ancient superstition, yet it is sufficient to show the odium which the Arian faction had incurred in this city. Lucius was far from imitating the mildness of Eunomius, and he persuaded the heads of government to exile most of the clergy. Those who had defended the Divine doctrines with the greatest constancy were banished to the furthest extremities of the Roman empire. Evolcius, a deacon, was sent to Oasis, a little town which is almost a desert. Antiochus, a priest, who had the honour of being the nephew, on his father's side, of the great Eusebius, and who had also rendered himself conspicuous by his own illustrious qualities, was banished to a region of Armenia. His firmness in maintaining the Divine doctrines will be hereafter mentioned. After the divine Eusebius, who had obtained as many victories as he had engaged in conflicts, had closed his life by martyrdom, the bishops of the province assembled according to custom. Jovian, who was then bishop of Pergamus, and who had for some time previously admitted Arians to communion, repaired to this assembly. Antiochus was unanimously appointed to the vacant bishopric; he was led to the altar, and was there made to kneel down; but when he turned round and perceived that Jovian was about to place his hand upon his head, he pushed it away, saying, that he could not receive ordination from hands which had joined with blasphemers in the celebration of the mysteries.¹ But these incidents did not occur till long after the period to which we are now referring. Antiochus was banished to the

¹ The mutual reception of the holy eucharist was the outward sign and pledge of communion. See Evagrius, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 13.

interior of Armenia. St. Eusebius remained in exile near the Danube, while the Goths were ravaging Thrace, and were besieging many cities, as is related in his own works.

CHAP. XVI.—BANISHMENT OF THE HOLY BARSSES, BISHOP OF EDESSA.—SOME OF THE CLERGY EXILED WITH HIM.

THE celebrated Barses ruled not only Edessa and the adjacent cities, but also Phœnicia, Egypt, and Thebes, and the fame of his virtues extended throughout all these provinces. Valens banished him first to the Isle of Aradus; but when it was found that multitudes resorted to him, for he was filled with apostolical gifts, and was able to remove diseases by a word, the emperor sent him to Oxyrynchus, a city of Egypt. But as his fame still attracted attention, he was banished to a greater distance; and this old man, who was worthy of heaven, was conveyed to a fortress called Philæ, situated on the frontier of the barbarian nations. It is said that his bed is preserved in Aradus even to this day, and that it is still held in the greatest honour. Many sick persons, on being made to lie down upon it, have, by means of their faith, been healed.

CHAP. XVII.—PERSECUTION EXCITED AT EDESSA.

VALENS having deprived the flock of their pastor elected a wolf to fill his office. But as all the inhabitants left the city to hold their assemblies elsewhere, he also quitted Edessa. He commanded Modestus, who was then a prefect, to assemble the soldiers who usually levied the taxes, and also the armed men who were in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of dispersing the multitudes; and this he desired him to effect by beating them with sticks, or, if necessary, by attacking them with warlike weapons. The prefect prepared from the break of day to carry this command into execution. As he was passing the market-place he saw a woman hastening along with an infant in her arms. She had broken through the ranks of the officers, whom she utterly contemned. For when the soul is warmed by divine zeal, it knows not the fear of men, and laughs at human power. The prefect, on seeing her, went up to her and asked her where she was going. "I have heard," replied she, "of the evil designs

which have been formed against the holy servants of God, and I am going to join those who are one with me in faith, that with them I may suffer the cruel persecution which you are about to raise against them." "But why do you take the infant?" asked the prefect. "In order," replied she, "that it may die with me in this blessed cause!" The prefect, on hearing these sentiments expressed by the woman, and on reflecting that the resoluteness of the others might be inferred from the courage evinced by her, went to the emperor and told him that the slaughter which he contemplated would be fruitless. "Ignominy alone," said he, "could result to us from such an act, while the zeal of the people would not be extinguished." By these words the prefect warded off the blow which was about to have been inflicted on the people. But as to the presbyters and deacons, he was directed either to persuade them to enter into communion with the wolf, or else to drive them from the city, and send them to the most distant regions. After having accordingly assembled them, he addressed them in the kindest manner, endeavouring to persuade them to obey the injunction of the emperor; and he told them that it was madness for a handful of men to oppose the will of an emperor possessed of such unbounded power.

CHAP. XVIII.—EXILE OF EULOGIUS AND PROTOGENES, PRESBYTERS OF EDESSA.

As they all remained silent, the prefect addressed Eulogius, an exemplary man, who was the principal person present. "Why," said he, "do you not reply to what we have been saying?" "Because," said he, "as no question was addressed to me I could not reply!" "But," rejoined the prefect, "I have been speaking to you for some time, exhorting you to do that which is to your own interest!" "I imagined," replied Eulogius, "that your discourse was addressed to all present, and that it would therefore be absurd for me to reply to the exclusion of the rest. But if you wish to interrogate me singly, I am ready to declare my sentiments!" "Hold communion, then," said the prefect, "with the emperor!" Eulogius replied by asking in an ironical, yet very graceful, manner, "Has then the sacerdotal as well as the imperial dignity devolved upon him?" The prefect was of-

fended at this observation : he reviled the presbyter and said to him, "I did not say that, you stupidified being ; I merely exhorted you to enter into communion with those with whom the emperor is in communion." The presbyter replied that they had a pastor whose authority they obeyed. The prefect seized eighty of them and sent them to Thrace. During their journey they received the greatest honours. The inhabitants of the cities and villages through which they passed applauded the victory which they had gained. But their enemies were led by envy to represent to the emperor that the banishment of these men, instead of being, as was intended, a disgrace to them, had raised them to the highest honour. On hearing this, Valens ordered them to be separated, and to be dispersed two and two throughout Thrace, and the furthest parts of Arabia and Thebes. It is said that those who were united by the bonds of nature, were separated by the cruelty of the persecutors, and that brothers were torn from each other. Eulogius, who was the most distinguished among them, and Protogenes, who ranked next to him in importance, were sent to Antinous, a town of Thebes. I do not wish to consign their virtues to oblivion. They found that the bishop was of the same sentiments as themselves, and they accordingly took part in the ecclesiastical assemblies ; but perceiving that there were but very few that came together on these occasions, they, upon inquiring the cause, were informed that the greater part of the inhabitants were involved in Paganism. They grieved at this sad intelligence, and deplored their unbelief. But they did not think it sufficient to regret the evil ; they endeavoured to find a remedy for it. The holy Eulogius shut himself up in a cell, and devoted himself day and night to supplicating the God of all. The admirable Protogenes, who possessed great erudition, and who had been accustomed to write with rapidity, applied himself to the education of youth, and gave instructions in writing and in the Holy Scriptures. He dictated the Psalms of David to his scholars, and made them learn the most useful parts of the apostolical writings. One of the young men was attacked by a disease : Protogenes went to see him, and, on touching the right hand of the sufferer, the disease, in answer to his prayer, was removed. On hearing of this deed, other fathers besought him to heal their children, who were lying ill in

their respective houses. But he declared that he could not supplicate God to remove the disease, until the diseased persons had been admitted to the rite of baptism. The desire they felt for recovery made them readily acquiesce in this condition ; and health was therefore restored to the soul and to the body at the same time. When Protopogenes had succeeded in persuading a person in good health to accept the offer of Divine grace, he conducted him to Eulogius. He knocked at the door of Eulogius, requesting him to open it, and to place the seal of the Lord¹ upon him who had been converted ; stating that if he were to complain of interruption to his prayers, he would answer that the salvation of the deceived was of still greater importance. Every one admired Protopogenes for having honoured Eulogius as his superior, and for having led his converts to him, while he was himself gifted with the power of working miracles, and with the light of Divine knowledge. Hence, as might have been expected, his virtue acquired still greater renown. When the tempest was stilled, and tranquillity was restored, these two holy men received orders to return to their own country. All the people of the town lamented and wept as they conducted them forth on their journey. The regret of the ruler of that church was extreme in finding himself deprived of their assistance. Some time after their return from exile, Barse was translated to that life where there is no sorrow ; and the reins of the church which he had governed were committed to the holy Eulogius. The admirable Protopogenes was appointed to labour in Carras, which is a barren spot filled with the thorns of Grecian superstition, and requiring intense labour. This, however, as I have already mentioned, did not occur till after peace had been restored to the church.

CHAP. XIX.—ST. BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.—THE PERSECUTIONS RAISED AGAINST HIM BY VALENS AND THE PREFECT MODESTUS.

VALENS, after having, so to speak, stripped the church of its pastors, went to Cæsarea, a city of Cappadocia. The

¹ That is, to administer the sacrament of holy baptism. The word *σφραγίς* is frequently used in this sense by the sacred writers. See Eph. iv. 30.

church of this city was then ruled by the great Basil, who was one of the lights of the world. The emperor sent the prefect on before him, commanding him either to persuade Basil to enter into communion with Eudoxius, or else to expel him from the city. The fame of this bishop had reached his ears, and had rendered him fearful of being the first to molest him, lest he should receive and repel the attack in a mode that would serve as an example of fortitude to others. But this artful stratagem was as ineffective as a spider's web; for the other bishops had many records of those whose illustrious examples might be said to serve as bulwarks in repelling the attacks made against the faith. When the prefect arrived at Casarea he sent for Basil, treated him with respect, and addressed him in a kind manner, exhorting him to submit to the exigencies of the times, and not to relinquish the government which he held over so many churches for the sake of a few doctrines. He promised him the friendship of the emperor, and protested that all the favours that he might solicit for others should be accorded. "Such protestations," replied the holy man, "might, perhaps, be suitably addressed to young people, or to those who resemble them in mind and disposition. But those who have been nourished by the words of God are ready to suffer death, if requisite, rather than relinquish one iota of the Divine doctrines. I highly esteem the friendship of the emperor when conjoined with piety; but without piety I consider that it would be injurious." The prefect resented this reply, and told him that he was not of his mind. "I wish," replied the holy Basil, "that I could always be thus out of my mind." At length the prefect desired him with many threats to retire and to reflect upon the course he meant to pursue, and to acquaint him the next day with his final determination. Then this man, so worthy of all praise, replied, "I shall be to-morrow the same as I am to-day; do not you either change your mind, but execute your threats." After this interview, the prefect went to the emperor, related what had passed, and represented the virtue and fidelity of the bishop. The emperor listened in silence, and then went into the city. But when he found within his own house the inflictions of Divine judgment, his son being sick and nigh unto death, and his wife beset with severe sufferings, he

reflected on the cause of these calamities, and sent to the holy man against whom he had threatened vengeance, entreating him to come to the palace. The chief military commanders of the empire were despatched to the bishop with this message. The great Basil, accordingly, went to the palace, and perceiving that the emperor's son was at the point of death, promised to restore him to health as soon as the holy rite of baptism was administered to him by the orthodox functionaries of the church. After making this declaration he withdrew. The emperor, however, like Herod in similar circumstances, remembered an oath which he had formerly made, and ordered the bishops of the Arian faction to baptize the child. At the completion of the ceremony the child expired. Valens was touched with remorse, and reflecting on the catastrophe which had resulted from the fulfilment of his oath, he went into the holy church, listened to the teaching of the great Basil, and offered the usual gifts at the altar.¹ Then Basil, who was sitting within the holy veil, motioned to him to come in, and discoursed with him at great length concerning the Divine doctrines. A certain man was present, named Demosthenes, who held the situation of cook at the palace: he began to blame the teacher of the world, and in so doing he happened to commit a grammatical error. The holy Basil replied, smiling, "We have heard Demosthenes transgress a rule of grammar." Demosthenes was excessively offended, and burst out into threats of vengeance. The great Basil rejoined, "It is your office to attend to the seasoning of soups; you cannot receive the doctrines of God because the ears of your understanding are closed."

The emperor so highly admired the character of the bishop, that for his sake he presented the most beautiful lands in the neighbourhood to those among the poor whose whole bodies were affected with disease, as being those who stood most in need of assistance. In this way did Basil avert the first blow² which Valens designed for the church. But at a subsequent period, Valens re-visited Cæsarea, and having for-

¹ *ὑπολαστήριον*. The word *βωμὸς* is not generally used to denote an altar in the Christian sense.

² Valens attacked Basil on several occasions which are enumerated by Valesius. His final blow was to send him into exile at the suggestion of the Arians.

gotten what had previously passed between him and Basil, endeavoured to draw him into communion with the opposite faction; and not succeeding in persuading him, he ordered an edict to be issued for his banishment. When he endeavoured to affix his own signature to the document, he could not form a single letter, for his pen split. The same thing happened the second and the third time that he vainly made the attempt; his right hand also was seized with a sudden tremor, rendering him quite unable to sign the impious edict. He was struck with terror, and with both hands tore the document. The Ruler of the universe delivered Basil from the designs of his enemies, while others were permitted to struggle with affliction, in order that in what befell Basil his own power might be manifested, while, in the trials which were encountered by the other excellent men, their own virtue might be exhibited to all the world. Thus, then, were the efforts and hopes of Valens frustrated.

CHAP. XX.—DEATH OF ST. ATHANASIUS, AND ORDINATION OF PETER.

THE victorious Athanasius, who had acquired as many crowns of victory as he had engaged in conflicts, had been released from labour, and translated to a life exempt from trouble. Peter, a man of great eminence, was elected to succeed him in the bishopric of Alexandria. Athanasius had desired that he should be his successor; and this choice was ratified by the unanimous consent both of the clergy and of the chief men of the city. All the people manifested their gratification at his promotion by loud acclamations. He had shared in the labours and perils of Athanasius, and had been his constant companion at home and abroad. On this account all the bishops and monks who resided in the vicinity repaired to the city, to request that he might be appointed to fill the post of Athanasius.

CHAP. XXI.—EXPULSION OF PETER.—INSTALMENT OF LUCIUS, AN ARIAN.

IMMEDIATELY after Peter had been raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, the governor of the province collected a

multitude of Pagans and Jews, and surrounded the church, desiring Peter to retire; and on his refusal, he threatened to expel him. He acted in the same way against all whose opinions were opposed to those of the emperor, under the pretence, indeed, of complying with his wishes, but, in truth, to satisfy his own impious prejudices, for he was addicted to the worship of idols; and the storms which agitated the church were to him a source of festivity and rejoicing. When this unexpected war broke out, Peter quitted the city secretly, and embarking on board a vessel, proceeded to Rome. A few days after, Euzoius arrived at Alexandria from Antioch, bringing Lucius with him, whom he installed in the government of the churches. Lucius had given many proofs of his impiety and injustice at Samosata. When the multitudes who had been nourished by the teaching of Athanasius perceived that other food was presented to them, they kept away from the assemblies of the church. Lucius assembled round him a troop of idolaters, who acted as his guards. He had some of the orthodox beaten, others he threw into prison, some he compelled to flee, and he pillaged the houses of others. All these occurrences are best explained by the admirable Peter, in one of his letters. But before I insert this letter in my work, I must relate one atrocious deed committed by Lucius.

There are in Egypt men who, desirous of leading a life like that of angels, have sequestered themselves from the tumult of cities to dwell in deserts, and who among these barren sands produce by their extraordinary virtues fruit pleasing unto God. Anthony was one of the most celebrated of those who originated this mode of living in the desert; but after he had safely anchored in the haven of rest, his followers were most cruelly persecuted. The celebrated Macarius, who was one of the leaders of this party, another individual of the same name, Isidore, and others, were torn away from their caverns, and were sent to an island where the inhabitants were heathens, and had never received any instruction in religion. As soon as their vessel approached the shores of the island, the demon who was there worshipped, quitted the statue of the idol which had long been his abode, and entered into the body of the priest's daughter. He threw her into a state of madness and agitation, dragged her towards that part of the shore which the vessel was approaching, and compelled

her to utter expressions similar to those used by the damsel who was filled with the spirit of Python at Philippi. While all the people, both men and women, were listening to these exclamations, the demon said through her, "O servants of Christ, how great is your power! We have been driven by you from every place, from cities and from villages, from mountains, from hills, and from the solitudes of the desert. We did hope that, in this neglected island, we should have been safe from your weapons; but our hope was vain. Your persecutors have sent you hither, not for the purpose of injuring or of molesting you, but in order that we may be driven away by you. We shall now depart from the island. We are unable to endure the brightness of your virtue." After having thus spoken, the demons flung the damsel on the ground, and fled. The holy men, after having engaged in prayer, raised the damsel from the ground, and restored her to health of body and of mind. Those who witnessed the miracle threw themselves at the feet of these holy men, and entreated them to show them the way of salvation. They destroyed the temple of their idols, and received the doctrines of religion and the rite of baptism. When these events became known in Alexandria, all the people assembled, and rose against Lucius, declaring that judgments would be sent to manifest the wrath of God, if the persecutions against the saints were continued. Lucius, intimidated by these tumults, granted permission to the inspired men to return to their caverns. These facts are quite sufficient to show his wickedness and impiety. The letter of Peter, however, exposes his violence and injustice yet more clearly. I shall here insert this letter; but, to avoid prolixity, shall commence at the middle paragraph.

CHAP. XXII.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, CONTAINING A RELATION OF THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY LUCIUS IN ALEXANDRIA.

"PALLADIUS, governor of the province, who was a heathen and an idolater, and who had frequently taken up arms against the cause of Christ, having assembled the multitude, as already mentioned, marched against the church with the same impetuosity as if he were attempting the subjugation of hordes of barbarians. The most atrocious crimes were then

perpetrated ; but when I try to allude to them; the very remembrance overcomes me, and draws tears from my eyes. These feelings of despondency would have become permanent, had not my grief been assuaged by the words of God. The people entered the church of Theonas, singing the praises of the idols, instead of reciting words suitable to the place. Instead of reading the Holy Scriptures, they clapped their hands, shouting obscene words, and uttering insults against the Christian virgins which my tongue refuses to repeat. Every man of correct feeling, on hearing these expressions, endeavoured to shut his ears, and wished to have been deaf rather than to have heard such obscenity. Would that they had confined themselves to words without carrying out into action the lewdness of their expressions. But the most insulting taunts are easily borne by those who have received the wisdom and doctrines of Christ. These people, who were vessels of wrath reserved for perdition, made loud and impudent noises through the nose which might be compared to the gushing forth of a torrent ; and, at the same time, tore the garments of the virgins of Christ, whose purity rendered them like the angels. They dragged them in a complete state of nudity about the city, and treated them in the most wanton and insulting manner, and with unheard-of cruelty. When any one, touched with compassion, addressed a few words of remonstrance to them, they immediately attacked and wounded him. But what is still more painful to relate, many virgins were ravished, others were struck on the head with clubs, and expired beneath the blows ; and their bodies were not permitted to be interred. Many of the corpses even to this day cannot, to the grief of the parents, be found. But why should comparatively small incidents be placed by the side of far greater atrocities ? Why should I dwell upon such facts, and not proceed to the relation of what is still more important, and which will strike you with astonishment and amazement at the clemency of God that he did not destroy the whole universe. The impious people did that upon the altar which, as the Scripture says, was not done nor heard of in the days of our fathers. A young man who had abjured his own sex, and had assumed the dress of a female, danced upon the holy altar where we invoke the Holy Ghost, as though it had been a public theatre, making various gestures and grimaces

to the diversion of the others, who laughed immoderately, and uttered many impious exclamations. In addition to disorders which they had already committed, as if they thought that what they had done was rather commendable than the contrary, one of their number, noted for his wickedness, stripped himself at once of his clothes, and of every remnant of modesty, and seated himself, as naked as when he was born, in the episcopal chair belonging to the church. All the others saluted him as an orator about to commence a discourse against Christ. He represented iniquity as superior to scriptural doctrines, placed licentiousness above decorum, impiety above piety; and, instead of inculcating temperance, taught that fornication, adultery, sodomy, theft, gluttony, and drunkenness are the most profitable pursuits in life. When these acts of impiety had been perpetrated, I left the church; for how could I have remained there while the soldiery were attacking it, while the people who had been bribed for the purpose were committing disorders, and while the idolaters had, by means of great promises, been assembled together in crowds? Our successor, who had purchased the episcopal office with gold, as though it had been a secular dignity, was a wolf in disposition, and acted accordingly. He had not been elected by a synod of bishops, by the votes of the clergy, or by the request of the people, according to the regulations of the church. He did not go into the city alone; but he was not accompanied by bishops, presbyters, or deacons, nor yet by the people. Neither did monks walk before him singing hymns selected from the Scriptures; but he was attended by Euzoius, who was once a deacon of the city of Alexandria, who was deposed with Arius at the holy and general council of Nice, and who is now reducing the city of Antioch to ruin. He was also accompanied by Magnus, the royal treasurer,¹ who headed an immense body of soldiery. This Magnus was noted for his readiness in every work of impiety; he had, during the reign of Julian, burnt a church in Berytus, a celebrated city of Phœnicia, and was, in the reign of Jovian, of blessed memory, sentenced to re-erect it at his own expense; and would even have been put to death had not great exertions been made to incline the emperor to clemency.

"Having now been made acquainted with the tyranny and

¹ κομιτατησιων λαργιτιώνων κόμης, " Comes comitatensium largitionum."

cruelty exercised by the enemy against us, you can judge of the magnitude of the transgressions committed against the church of God ; and you ought not to rest till such iniquities have received the award of justice. The same Lucius, who had been so often condemned by you and by all the orthodox bishops, came to this city, where he was, and with good reason, regarded with great aversion. He not only said, with the blasphemer in the Psalms, ‘Christ is not truly God,’ he also delighted in all the blasphemies devised against Christ by those who served the creature rather than the Creator ; and, being utterly depraved himself, he endeavoured to corrupt others. I say nothing that is not strictly correct ; for this evil man held sentiments nearly allied to those of the heathens, and dared to worship the newly begotten God.¹ On seeing him, all the people burst out into loud acclamations, saying, ‘Welcome, O bishop, welcome to you, who deny the Son ! Serapis, who loves you, has brought you here !’ Serapis was the name which they had given to their idol. At the same moment, Magnus, the accomplice in his impious deeds, and the minister of his cruelty, having called together the troops which he commanded, seized nineteen presbyters and deacons, some of whom were more than eighty years of age ; and, as if they had been detected in the commission of some hateful and unlawful action, he ordered them to be brought before him. He urged them to renounce the faith which our fathers had received from the apostles, and which they have handed down to us ; assuring them that such an act would be regarded with approbation by Valens, the most clement of emperors. ‘Assent, O wretched men,’ exclaimed he, in a loud tone of voice, ‘assent to the Arian doctrines. Even if your religion be true, God will forgive you for having renounced it, for you are not now acting voluntarily, but by compulsion. What is done from constraint is excusable ; voluntary actions alone carry with them their own condemnation. Therefore, reflect upon the reasons which I have brought before you, and sign, without delay, the doctrine of Arius, which is now preached by Lucius. You may be certain that, if you accede to this injunction, you will receive riches, gifts, and honours, from the emperors.

¹ προσφατόν θεόν. In allusion to the Arian doctrine, which denied that Christ was God from all eternity, and asserted that He was but a creature.

But if you refuse obedience, you will be imprisoned, tortured, and scourged ; you will be deprived of all your wealth and possessions, driven from your country, and banished to a sterile and inhospitable region.' In this manner, coupling threats with promises, did he endeavour to induce them to renounce their principles. But these pious men, dreading the loss of faith far more than exposure to the greatest tortures, made the following reply : ' Cease, cease ! do not think to terrify us by words. Your threats are vain ; it is not a new thing to us to serve God. It is in vain that you roar like the billows of the sea, and that you rage like a furious wind. We will adhere to the doctrines of religion, even unto death. We will not believe that God was ever without power, without wisdom, or without truth. We will never believe that he was a Father at one period, and not at another, as does that impious Arian, who declares that God has a finite Son. If the Son were, as the Arians say, a creature, and if he were not of the same substance as the Father, the Father would be reduced to nothing ; since, according to them, if the Son existed not, the Father could not either have existed. If the Father is from all eternity, and if the Son was begotten of him, though not by effluxion, God not being susceptible of change, is it not foolish and extravagant to believe that there was a time in which the Son existed not, although by Him all things exist ? It was for this reason that our fathers, who were assembled at Nice from all parts of the globe, and severed from whom these heretics are now with good cause become fatherless, condemned the evil opinions of the Arians, which the young man now maintains : they declared that the Son is not of a substance diverse from that of the Father, as you would constrain us to believe, but they confess his consubstantiality. They derived, from many words of Scripture, the term *consubstantial*, which they rightly understood in accordance with religion.' After they had spoken for some time in this strain, Magnus ordered them to be cast into prison for many days, in the expectation that a change would be thus induced in their opinions. But they, like brave combatants of the stadium, threw aside all fear, and, encouraged by the achievements of their fathers, they, through Divine grace, looked with contempt upon the menaces of the tyrant, and welcomed tortures as being the trial of their virtue. All the inhabitants of the city ran out to see

these soldiers of Christ, who were made, as the blessed Paul wrote, a spectacle for angels and for men ; and who triumphed over tortures and scourging by their fortitude, erected trophies of victory over impiety by their patience, and obtained a complete triumph over the Arians. Their evil and bitter enemy strove, both by threats and by deceitful promises, to force them to range themselves under the banners of the impious faction opposed to Christ. After inflicting, to the grief and horror of the people, all the tortures that his resentment could devise, this cruel man, who was destitute of every feeling of humanity, became at length wearied of cruelty. He then called together the most disorderly persons of the city, and summoned the accused to judgment, or rather to condemnation. The banks of the river resounded with the shouts of the idolaters and of the Jews, who had been bribed to cry out against the holy men. When it became evident that they could not be made to embrace the Arian heresy, sentence was passed upon them, and all the people who were in the court of justice burst out into lamentations. They were banished from Alexandria to Heliopolis, a city of Phœnicia, where all the inhabitants were idolaters, and where no one could endure to hear the name of Christ. After having sent for a vessel, Magnus stood upon the shore, with a naked sword in his hand, near the public bath in which he had pronounced sentence against them. He foolishly imagined that the naked sword would terrify those who had so often, with a two-edged sword, wounded the hostile demons. He then ordered them to embark on board the vessel ; but did not give them any necessaries for the voyage, nor anything to solace them in their exile ; and, what is still more extraordinary, and indeed almost incredible, he ordered them to sail immediately, although a storm was then raging, and the sea was violently agitated, as though it were indignant at his injustice, and unwilling to contribute to the execution of his sentence ; thus exhibiting, to those who had not previously reflected on the subject, the barbarity of the judge. It may be said with truth, that heaven was amazed at this deed. The whole city wept over this sad occurrence, which is deplored even to this day. Some of the citizens struck their breasts with violence, others raised their hands and their eyes towards heaven, as if to implore assistance, and as if to say, ‘Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, to the

deeds of injustice that have been perpetrated !' Groans were heard in every place, and the whole city was full of the sounds of woe. The tears which were shed might have formed a stream almost large enough to have caused an inundation of the sea. When the tyrant, as before related, stood upon the shore and gave orders for sailing, a universal cry was raised by young maidens and by women, by old men and by youths ; tears were mixed with lamentations, and their simultaneous screams drowned the noise of the tempest and of the raging billows. But while the holy men were sailing towards Heliopolis, —the city where all the demons are worshipped, and where voluptuous principles are predominant—the city which is a fit home for wild beasts, being surrounded by mountains whose summits reach to heaven,—Palladius, prefect of Alexandria, who was extremely addicted to the worship of idols, prohibited the citizens from expressing their regret, either publicly in the city or privately in their own homes. Many of those who transgressed this order, were scourged, lacerated, and tortured, and were then sent to labour in the mines of Phenœum and of Proconnesus ; yet these were inspired men, who zealously defended the church. Amongst them were twenty-three monks who had led a life of great austerity in the wilderness. A deacon, who had conveyed some consolatory letters¹ from our beloved brother, Damasus, bishop of Rome, was arrested as a criminal, and had his hands fastened behind his back. He was tortured with equal if not with greater severity than he would have been had he committed murder. His head was beaten with stones and with masses of lead, and he was then put into the ship and sent out to sea with the others. On entering the vessel, he made the sign of the cross : he was sent to the mines of Phenœum, without any supplies of provisions, or of the necessaries of life. Young children were, by order of the judge, put to the torture ; while the bodies of those who had been killed were closely guarded, to prevent their parents, brothers, relations, and, so to speak, the whole city, from rendering them the rite of sepulture ; for permission had been requested to perform this office. But oh how great was the inhumanity of the judgment, or rather of

¹ Synodical letters addressed to Peter, in reply to those which he had addressed to Damasus signifying to him his own election to supply the place of Athanasius.

the condemnation ! Those who had so nobly struggled for the cause of religion received a severer sentence than murderers ; for their bodies were deprived of burial, and were thrown to the beasts and birds of prey. Those who were led from pity or from conscientious feelings to sympathize with the parents, were immediately condemned, as if they had committed some flagrant misdemeanour, to have their heads broken. What law of the Romans, what decree of the barbarians, prohibits sympathy with afflicted parents ? What tyrant of antiquity ever pronounced so unjust a sentence ? Pharaoh commanded that all the male children of the Hebrews should be put to death ; but he was excited to this deed by envy and by fear. How far more inhuman are the crimes now perpetrated than the cruel command of Pharaoh ! If it were possible to choose between two evils, the acts of barbarity of former times would be chosen as preferable to those which we now suffer. Although the facts which I have related are incredible, inhuman, cruel, and barbarous, yet they gave pleasure to the followers of the Arian infatuation. At the very time that the whole city was filled with mourning, and when there was not, to use an expression found in the book of Exodus, a house in which there was not one dead, the cruelty of those who had accustomed themselves to iniquity was still unsatiated. They proceeded to lay their hands on the bishops of the province, whom they arrested, through the instrumentality of Magnus, the public treasurer, above-mentioned. Some of the bishops were dragged before the tribunals ; and they harassed the others in various ways, omitting nothing that they could devise to seduce every one into irreligion. Like the devil, who is the father of their heresy, they go about seeking whom they can devour. They exiled eleven bishops from Egypt, because they constantly opposed them. These bishops had in early youth entered upon a life of austerity, and had dwelt in the desert to an advanced age, having overcome voluptuousness by reason. They had imbibed religious doctrines with the milk with which they had been nourished in infancy ; and they preached the faith with boldness. They had gained many victories over the demons : by the power of virtue they had covered their adversaries with confusion ; and by the force of their reasonings they had refuted heresy. These bishops were banished, through the intervention of Magnus, (that minister of

cruelty already mentioned,) to a place named Diocæsarea, inhabited by the Jews, who had slain the Lord. But, like hell, the persecutors were not satisfied, although they had slain so many of our brethren ; and in their folly and infatuation they determined to leave throughout the earth monuments of their cruelty. They banished to Neocæsarea, a town of Pontus, some clergy of the catholic church of Antioch, who had, with some pious monks, resolved to protest against the artifices which they resorted to in the propagation of their evil heresy. These holy men died soon after their banishment ; perhaps the ungenial climate of their place of exile occasioned their death."

Such were the tragical incidents of this period. Although they deserve to be buried in oblivion, yet they have been handed down to posterity in various written documents, to the condemnation of those who used their tongues against the only Begotten One, and who not only blasphemously opposed the Ruler of the universe, but who also waged implacable war against his faithful servants.

CHAP. XXIII.—MAVIA, QUEEN OF THE SARACENS.—ORDINATION OF MOSES, A MONK.

At this period the tribes of Ishmaelites ravaged the provinces situated on the frontiers of the empire. They were led by Mavia, who, notwithstanding her sex, possessed masculine intrepidity. After several engagements, she made peace with the Romans ; and having received the light of the knowledge of God, she requested that a certain man named Moses, who dwelt on the borders of Egypt and Palestine, might be ordained bishop of her nation. Valens acceded to the request, and desired that the holy man should be conveyed to Alexandria, and that he should there receive the holy rite of ordination ; for this city was nearer his place of residence than any other. After his arrival at Alexandria, when he found that Lucius desired to lay his hands upon him for the purpose of ordination, he said, " God forbid that I should receive ordination at your hands ; for the grace of the Spirit is not given in answer to your prayers." " Upon what ground," said Lucius, " do you hazard these conjectures ?" " I say what I positively know," replied he, " not what I conjecture. You oppose the apostolical doctrines, and you speak against

them ; and the iniquity of your actions coincides with the blasphemy of your words. Whom have you not employed to disturb the assemblies of the church ? Which of the eminent men have you not exiled ? What inhumanity can be compared, in point of cruelty, to that exhibited in your daily actions ?" Lucius was deeply incensed, and wished to put him to death ; but, not daring to renew a war which had but just been terminated, he ordered him to be conveyed to the other bishops by whom he desired to be ordained. After having received, in addition to his fervent faith, the archiepiscopal dignity, he, by his apostolical doctrines, and by the working of miracles, led many to the knowledge of the truth. Such were the crimes perpetrated by Lucius in Alexandria, and thus did Divine Providence frustrate his designs.

CHAP. XXIV.—CRIMES PERPETRATED AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE Arians of Constantinople, after having made the pious presbyters embark on board an unballasted ship, sent them out to sea. They desired men of their sect, who sailed in another vessel, to set fire to that in which the presbyters were embarked. When this order was executed, the presbyters, having to contend against flames and billows, found a grave in the deep, and obtained the crown of martyrdom. Valens remained during a long period at Antioch, and gave permission to the Greeks, to the Jews, and to those of all other religions, as also to those who assumed the name of Christians, to preach anything they pleased contrary to the evangelical doctrines. The Greeks celebrated those superstitious ceremonies from which they had formerly been reclaimed, and restored the worship of demons, which had been abolished by Jovian after the death of Julian. The festivals of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Ceres were no longer celebrated by stealth, in secret places, as ought to be the case under the reign of a religious emperor ; but they were held in the centre of the market-place. Valens was only opposed to those who preached the doctrines of the apostles. He first drove them from their churches, although Julian had presented them with newly erected churches : when they afterwards assembled at the foot of a mountain to hear the word of God and sing his praise, although they had to contend with the inclemency

of the weather, and were exposed to rain, snow, and frost, they were not permitted to enjoy even this privilege, obtained as it was at the cost of much labour ; for Valens sent his soldiers to drive them away.

CHAP. XXV.—THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ANTIOCH DEFENDED BY FLAVIAN AND DIODORUS.

FLAVIAN and Diodorus stationed themselves as bulwarks to restrain the violence of the billows of persecution. The pastor of the city having been compelled to relinquish his post, they undertook the care of the flock during his absence ; and by their courage and wisdom defended it from the attacks of wolves. After having been driven away from the foot of the mountain, they led the flock beside the banks of a neighbouring stream. They did not, like the captives of Babylon, hang up their harps upon the willows ;¹ for they sang praises to their Creator in every part of his empire. But the enemy did not long permit these pious pastors, who preached the Divinity of the Lord Christ, to hold assemblies in any place ; and they were soon compelled to lead the flock to spiritual pasturage in the gymnasium in which the soldiers performed their exercises.² The wise and courageous Diodorus resembled a large and limpid stream, which furnishes plentiful supplies of water to those who dwell on its banks, and which at the same time ingulfs adversaries. He despised the advantages of high birth, and underwent the severest exertions in defence of the faith. Flavian was also of illustrious birth, yet he considered that piety alone constitutes true nobility. At this period Flavian did not preach in the public assemblies, but he furnished Diodorus with the subjects of his discourses, and supplied him with Scriptural arguments, thus anointing him, as it were, for the conflicts of the spiritual gymnasium. They thus jointly attacked the Arian blasphemy. In their own private dwellings, as well as in public places, they disputed with the Arians, easily confuted their sophistical reasoning, and proved its futility. Aphraates, whose life I have written in my history, entitled "Philothheus," joined them about this period. He considered the deliverance of the flock to be

¹ See Psal. 137. 1, 2.

² A sort of Campus Martius on the outside of the walls of the city.

of greater moment than his own individual repose, and he quitted his monastery to labour in the cause of the church. I think that it would now be superfluous to describe his great and numerous virtues, as I have enlarged on the subject in another of my works. I shall merely relate one of his actions, it being connected with the events recorded in this history.

CHAP. XXVI.—APHRAATES THE HOLY MONK.

THE palace of the city of Antioch is washed on the north by the river Orontes : on the south there is a large portico with two stories which touch the walls of the city, and which have two high towers. Between the palace and the river is a public road leading from the city to the suburbs. One day as Aphraates was passing along this road on his way to the military gymnasium, where he then tended his flock, he attracted the notice of the emperor, who was then on the top of the portico, and who, remarking an old man clad in a rough goat-skin garment, was told, upon inquiry, that that was Aphraates, and that he possessed great authority over all the inhabitants of the city. The emperor then said to him, "Where are you going?" Aphraates with great wisdom replied, "I am going to pray for the preservation of your empire." "But you ought," said the emperor, "to remain at home, and to pray according to the monastical rules." To this the holy man replied, "Your observation, O emperor, is just ; and, indeed, while the flock of Christ remained at peace, I pursued the line of conduct which you recommend. But now that the flock is involved in so many perils from the attacks of wild beasts, I am compelled to use every effort for the rescue of the sheep. Tell me, O emperor," he continued, "how a damsel ought to act under the following circumstances :—We will suppose that while she is sitting in her chamber, her father's house, of which she is left in charge, is set on fire : what ought she to do ? Ought she to remain within her apartment, allowing the flames to spread until they reach and consume her ? Or ought she not rather to run hither and thither to fetch water and to extinguish the flames ? You will surely admit that she ought to adopt the latter course ; for she would thus be acting according to the suggestions of prudence. I am now, O emperor, doing the same thing. I am running to extinguish

the flames which you have kindled in my Father's house." While he made these statements, the emperor remained silent. But one of the members of the imperial household had the insolence to threaten the holy man; and vengeance in consequence speedily overtook him. It was his office to prepare the baths; and directly after he had addressed these menaces to Aphraates, he went to get one ready for the emperor. As soon as he reached the spot, he lost his senses, threw himself into the hot water, and almost immediately expired. After some time had elapsed, the emperor, who was sitting waiting for him to announce that the bath was ready, sent to ascertain the delay. Those who were sent on this message found him dead in the hot bath. When this was announced to the emperor, they recognised the power of the prayers of Aphraates, yet did not renounce their impious sentiments. The emperor hardened his heart like Pharaoh, and became yet more prejudiced against piety.

CHAP. XXVII.—ST. JULIAN AND ANTHONY THE GREAT.

ABOUT the same time the celebrated Julian, of whom I have already spoken, was compelled to leave the desert and go to Antioch. The Arians, who had been long habituated to falsehood, and to the invention of calumnies, declared that this holy man had joined their party. Flavian, Diodorus, and Aphraates, who were illustrious defenders of the truth, sent the faithful Acacius, who was afterwards raised to the government of the church of Bercea, to this celebrated man, beseeching him to have pity upon so many millions of men, and to confute the falsehood of the enemy by bearing witness to the truth. The miracles which he performed during his journey, and after his arrival in the city of Antioch, I have fully related in my history, entitled "Philotheus," where those who desire information respecting them may easily obtain it. That all the inhabitants of this populous city crowded to our assemblies,¹ will not be doubted by those who are acquainted with human nature; for men are generally attracted by whatever is strange and marvellous. Even the enemies of truth ac-

¹ Some understand these words to refer to the conversion of the entire people; but Valesius understands them of the multitude of people who flocked to the church to see Julian.

knowledge that he performed a great many wonderful miracles. Anthony acted in the same way during the reign of Constantine at Alexandria; he left the solitudes of the desert to go about every part of the city, warning the inhabitants that the Arians were opposing the truth, and that the doctrines of the apostles were preached only by Athanasius. Thus did these holy men know how to meet the emergencies of every period; they knew when to remain in retirement, and when to leave the desert and repair to the cities.

CHAP. XXVIII.—ACCOUNT OF THE OTHER CELEBRATED MONKS
OF THIS PERIOD.

THERE were at this time other monks who obtained just celebrity. In the desert of Chalcedonia, Avitus, Abraham, and not a few others, led a calm and spiritual life in a body subject to passion. In the neighbourhood of Apamea, Agapus, Simeon, Paul, and others, taught the most sublime philosophy. In the province of Zeugma, Publius and Paul adopted the same course of life. The renowned Acepsemas passed sixty years shut up in a cell in Cyrestes, without speaking to any one or seeing any human being. The admirable Zeugmatius, although deprived of the use of his eyes, carefully tended the flock, and defended it from the attacks of wolves. On this account the heretics set fire to his cell; but Trajan, one of the military commanders, who was a man of great piety, had another cell built for him, and took him under his own protection. Marianus, Eusebius, Ammian, Palladius, Symeon, Abraham, and others, preserved the image of God in the neighbourhood of Antioch, it being engraven in their own souls. I have written the history of their lives. The mountain which is situated in the neighbourhood of the great city was no less honoured, for here dwelt Peter, a native of Galatia, and an Egyptian who bore the same name, and also Romanus, Severus, Zeno, Moses, Malchus, and many others, who, though unknown to the multitude, were known to God.

CHAP. XXIX.—DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA, AND EPHRAIM OF
SYRIA.

AT this period the admirable Ephraim dwelt at Edessa, and the illustrious Didymus at Alexandria; they both wrote
[THEODORET.]
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against the dogmas of the opponents of truth. Ephraim used the Syriac language as a medium for reflecting the rays of divine grace; and although unacquainted with the language of the Greeks, he most ably refuted all their errors, and exposed all the evil machinations of the heretics. Harmonius, the son of Bardesanis, having composed some hymns, in which impiety was disguised beneath the charms of verse, to the destruction of those who listened to them; Ephraim composed others, in which harmony and melody were combined with piety, and which subserved all the purposes of valuable and efficacious medicine. These verses are, even to this day, used at the festivals celebrated in honour of the victorious martyrs. Although Didymus had lost his sight in youth, he had applied himself to the study of poetry, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; he had acquired, by means of the organ of hearing alone, a thorough acquaintance with the logic of Aristotle, and with the eloquence of Plato. These branches of knowledge are not to be regarded as teaching truth, but as furnishing weapons which may be used against falsehood in the defence of truth. He also committed the Sacred Scriptures to memory, and acquired the knowledge, not only of words, but also of their signification.¹ These were some of the monks who rendered themselves conspicuous by their virtues during this period.

CHAP. XXX.—CELEBRATED BISHOPS OF PONTUS AND OF ASIA,
WHO FLOURISHED DURING THIS PERIOD.

AMONG the bishops of this period may be mentioned the two Gregories, of whom one was bishop of Nazianzenus, and the other of Nyssa. The one was the brother of the great Basil, and the other his friend and fellow-labourer. They distinguished themselves in Cappadocia by their zeal in defending religion. Peter, the brother of Basil, and of Gregory, rendered himself likewise conspicuous by his virtuous life, although he was not deeply versed in general learning. Optimus in Syria, and Amphilochius in Lycaonia, zealously defended the faith, and repelled the attacks of the adversaries. In the West, Damasis, bishop of Rome, and Ambrose, bishop of

¹ That is, not only of their literal, but of their allegorical meaning.

Milan, successfully combated the designs of the enemies. Those who had been banished to the extremities of the empire were united with them in spirit, and by their letters strengthened their faith and animated them against their opponents. In the terrific tempest to which the church was exposed, the Ruler of all things had thus provided skilful pilots and physicians to devise suitable remedies for the evils with which she was then afflicted. But these were not the only means adopted by the gracious Lord for the preservation of the church. He provided likewise in other ways for her safety.

CHAP. XXXI.—LETTER WRITTEN ON WAR BY VALENS TO VALENTINIAN, AND THE REPLY OF THE LATTER.

THE Goths having prepared for war, Valens was obliged to retreat towards the Bosphorus, for he only knew how to fight against religion. Being aware of his own weakness, he sent to implore aid from his brother.¹ But Valentinian wrote back in reply, that it would be wrong to assist a man who had taken up arms against God, and that it would be only just to allow his effrontery to be repressed. This reply filled the unhappy man with the deepest sorrow, yet he did not desist from his course of violence, but persevered in his opposition to the truth.

CHAP. XXXII.—PIETY OF TERENCE.

TERENCE, a general distinguished by his valour and by his piety, was able, on his return from Armenia, to erect trophies of victory. Valens promised to give him everything that he might desire. But he asked not for gold or silver; for lands, power, or houses; but he requested that a church might be given to those who preached the apostolical doctrines. When the emperor received the petition and read the contents, he was highly irritated, and desired Terentius to ask something else. Terentius picked up the torn fragments of the document, and said, "I have received, O emperor, the gift which I desired, and I shall ask no other. The Judge of all sees and judges my intentions."

¹ Valesius says that Theodoret is mistaken here, for his brother Valentinian was dead. He suggests that the word ἀδελφιδούν, (nephew,) means Gratian.

CHAP. XXXIII.—BOLDNESS OF TRAJAN, A MILITARY CHIEF.

WHEN Valens had passed the Bosphorus and had arrived in Thrace, he at first remained for some time in Constantinople, making preparations for war. He sent Trajan, the general, with some troops, against the barbarians. Trajan was defeated; and, on his return, the emperor reproached him severely, and accused him of weakness and of cowardice. But Trajan replied with great boldness: "It is not I, O emperor, who have been defeated; for you, by fighting against God, have thrown the barbarians upon His protection, and have thus surrendered the victory to them. For as you have taken up arms against God, He has ranged himself on the side of your enemies. With Him is victory, and those triumph who are led by him. Do you not know," continued he, "who those are whom you have driven from the churches, and who are those to whom you have given them up?" Arintheus and Victor, the other commanders, accorded in what had been said, and besought the emperor to reflect on the truth of their remonstrances.

CHAP. XXXIV.—PREDICTION OF ISAAC, A HERMIT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

It is said that Isaac, who dwelt in a solitary tent near Constantinople, exclaimed, on seeing the emperor depart at the head of his army, "Where are you marching, O emperor? You who have declared war against God, cannot receive His aid. He has raised up the barbarians against you, because you have excited many to blasphemy against Him, and have driven away from the churches those who celebrated His praises. Cease, then, from fighting against Him, and He will terminate the war. Restore the pastors to their flocks, and then you will obtain a bloodless victory. But if you despise my advice, and rush into battle, you will find how hard it is to kick against the pricks. You will never return, but will perish with your troops." The emperor was enraged, and answered, "I shall return, and your life shall pay the penalty of your false prediction." Isaac, not at all terrified by the threat, rejoined in a loud tone of voice, "Let me be slain if my words prove false."

CHAP. XXXV.—BOLDNESS OF VETRANION, BISHOP OF SCYTHIA.

VETRANION, who was noted for possessing every virtue, was bishop of all the cities of Scythia. Being filled with divine zeal, he rebuked Valens for having corrupted the doctrines of the faith, and for having unjustly persecuted the saints ; and repeated to him in a loud voice the following words of the most holy David, “I shall speak of thy testimonies before kings and shall not be ashamed” (Ps. cxix. 46).

CHAP. XXXVI.—EXPEDITION OF VALENS AGAINST THE GOTHs.—
THE PENALTY OF HIS IMPIETY.

VALENS, despising the wise advice which he had received, sent his army against the enemy, while he himself remained in a village waiting the issue of the battle. His troops, not being able to resist the onset of the barbarians, were put to flight, and were closely pursued. When they reached the village in which Valens was concealed, the barbarians set fire to it, and the enemy of religion perished in the flames. Thus, even in this life, did Valens receive the punishment of his iniquities.

CHAP. XXXVII.—THE GOTHs SEDUCED INTO THE ARIAN
HERESY.

I THINK that I ought to narrate, for the information of those who may be unacquainted with the facts, how the Goths were led to receive the Arian errors. When they passed the Danube, and entered into alliance with Valens, the wicked Eudoxius, who was present, suggested to the emperor that the Goths ought to be constrained to hold communion with them. This nation had received from the first the light of the knowledge of God, and had been nourished in the apostolical doctrines. “Peace,” said Eudoxius, “would be cemented between us by their becoming one with us in sentiment.” Valens, approving of this advice, proposed to the chief persons among them to assent to the doctrines which he held ; but they replied that they could not abandon the doctrines of their fathers. Urfila was then their bishop, and possessed so much influence among them, that they received his words as laws. Eudoxius,

having gained him over by soft words and by numerous gifts, persuaded him to lead the Goths to embrace conformity in religion with the emperor. He accomplished his purpose by assuring him that there existed no difference between them in point of doctrine, and that the disputes in the church had originated from the ambition of a few individuals. Hence it is that unto this day the Goths say that the Father is greater than the Son ; but they do not say that the Son is a creature, although they admit those who hold this communion. Hence they have not utterly abandoned the doctrines of their fathers. When Urfila persuaded them to hold communion with Eudoxius and Valens, he assured them that there existed no difference between them in point of doctrine, but that vain altercations had produced dissonance of opinion.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.—PIETY OF THE EMPEROR GRATIAN.

THE conduct and the fate of Julian clearly exhibit how long the Lord God bears with those who rise up against him ; and how he takes vengeance on those who abuse his long-suffering. Mercy and justice are, as it were, the two scales of the balance in which he weighs the actions of men. When the crimes of any one are so great as to preponderate over mercy, the equilibrium of the balance is restored by the exercise of the vengeance which is demanded by justice.

Gratian, the son of Valentinian, and the nephew of Valens, obtained possession of the whole empire. He had been raised to the empire of Europe after his father's death, and had previously been associated with him in the government. After the death of Valens, he added Asia and the rest of Libya to his dominions.

CHAP. II.—RETURN OF THE BISHOPS.

GRATIAN immediately manifested the piety with which he *was imbued*, and consecrated the first-fruits of his empire to

God. He enacted a law¹ enjoining that the pastors who had been banished should be restored to their flocks, and that the churches should be given up to those who held communion with Damasis, who was the bishop of Rome, and highly celebrated on account of the sanctity of his life ; for he was ready to say and do everything in defence of the apostolical doctrines. He had succeeded Liberius in the government of the church. Gratian sent Sapor, a renowned military chief, to carry this law into execution, to drive away from the churches, as wild beasts, those who preached the blasphemies of Arius, and to restore the church to the faithful pastors, and to the holy flocks. This law was executed in all the provinces without any opposition. In Antioch, however, which is the metropolis of the East, many disputes arose in consequence.

CHAP. III.—CONTENTION OF PAULINUS.—NEW DOCTRINES INTRODUCED BY APOLLINARIS.—WISDOM AND PIETY OF MELITIUS.

THOSE who adhered to the apostolical doctrines were, as we have already stated, divided into two parties. One party had seceded from detestation of the perfidy of the Arians immediately after the insidious machinations which they had formed against the great Eusebius, and had assembled apart under the pastoral care of Paulinus. It was not till after the ordination of Euzoius that the other party, who were then ruled by Melitius, separated from the impious Arians. Besides these separatists, Apollinaris of Laodicea had made himself the head of another party. He at first appeared to adhere to piety, and to defend the apostolical doctrines ; but it soon became evident that he was hostile to these principles. He advanced very corrupt hypotheses respecting the Divine nature, which he represented as comprising degrees of perfection ; and he had the boldness to declare that the mysterious dispensation of redemption is imperfect ; and that the reasoning soul, whose office it is to guide the body, has no part in salvation. He said that the Word, who is God, did not at his incarnation assume this principle of our nature, and that it was neither honoured nor redeemed by Him. Thus the body, which is earthy, is sup-

¹ This law of Gratian is extant in the 16th book of the Theodosian Code, and is entitled “ De Fide Catholica ; ” but it is there falsely attributed to Theodosius himself.

posed to be revered by invisible powers, while the soul which was made in the image of God is considered inferior to it, being regarded as immersed in sin and dishonour. The deplorable blindness of his understanding led him to circulate many other errors. Sometimes he agreed in the doctrine that Christ assumed flesh of the holy virgin; at others, he said that His human body descended with the Word from heaven; and, at other times, he said that the Word took flesh without assuming our nature. He mixed up with the Divine promises fables and idle fictions, which are not worth recounting here. By these false doctrines he not only seduced his own party, but also deluded some who belonged to ours. When, at a subsequent period, those whom he had deceived were led to contrast the weakness of their sect with the majesty and numerical superiority of the church, they all, with few exceptions, returned to the church, and entered into communion with her; yet they retained their impious sentiments. This is the root whence has sprung an evil doctrine now prevalent in the church. Those who hold this doctrine affirm that the human and Divine natures of Christ form but one nature;¹ they attribute the capacity of suffering to the Divine nature of the only begotten Son, and teach many other errors which have excited great controversy among the laity and the clergy. But all the above incidents did not occur till after the period at present under consideration.

When Sapor, the commander, arrived in Antioch, and proclaimed the mandate of the emperor, Paulinus promised to communicate on the subject with Damasis. Apollinaris also made the same promise; but this he did in order to conceal the heterodoxy of his opinions. St. Melitius remained a quiet spectator of their contention. The wise Flavius, who ranked at that period among the presbyters, addressed Paulinus in the following manner, in the presence of Sapor: "If you are in communion, O friend, with Damasis, prove to us clearly that your doctrines are in accordance with his. He declared that in the Trinity there is one substance, and three persons; you, on the contrary, deny that there are three persons in the Trinity. If you agree with him in doctrine, you shall receive authority over the churches." Having thus convicted

¹ Theodoret alludes to the heretics who were called Theopaschitæ or Deipassiani, from holding that the Deity was capable of suffering.

and silenced Paulinus, he next addressed Apollinaris. "I am amazed, O friend," said he, "at the shameless manner in which you have opposed truth. You clearly understand that Damasis asserts that God the Word assumed the nature of complete humanity. You, however, maintain a contrary doctrine. You say that the soul is excluded from salvation. If this be a false accusation, prove it to be so by denouncing the innovations which are attributed to you ; embrace the doctrine of Damasis, and receive possession of the churches." With these words the wise Flavius closed his discourse. Then Melitius, the mildest of men, addressed Paulinus in a kind and affectionate manner : "As God," said he, "committed to me the care of this flock, and as you have received the charge of another, and as our respective sheep hold the same doctrines of religion, let us, O friend, unite our flocks ; let us throw aside all contests for superiority, and tend with equal assiduity the sheep intrusted to us. If the episcopal chair of this city be to us a matter of contention, let us place the holy gospel upon it, and let us seat ourselves on each side of it. If I die first, you, O friend, will become the only ruler of the flock : but if your death occur before mine, I will, as far as I am able, tend the flock alone." Paulinus, however, refused to comply¹ with the offer so kindly and affectionately made by Melitius. The general, after reflecting on what had been stated, gave up the churches² to the holy Melitius. Paulinus continued to rule those who had from the beginning separated themselves from the rest of the flock.

CHAP. IV.—EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.

APOLLINARIS, on finding himself excluded from the government of the churches, publicly preached the new doctrines which he had devised, and openly appeared as the originator of a new heresy. He chiefly fixed his residence at Laodicea. He had previously ordained as bishop in Antioch, a man named Vitalis, who possessed many virtues, and who had been educated in the doctrines of the apostles, but who had after-

¹ Valesius sees reason to distrust this statement of Theodoret ; as also does Baronius in his Annals, A. D. 378.

² Those churches, namely, which the Arian bishop Euzoius had obtained at Antioch. This was done in accordance with the rescript of Gratian.

wards imbibed heretical opinions. Diodorus, of whom mention has been already made as having saved the vessel of the church in the midst of a furious tempest, was raised by the holy Melitius to the bishopric of Tarsus, and intrusted with the superintendence of the whole province of Cilicia. Melitius committed the bishopric of Apamea to John, the descendant of an illustrious family, who was rendered more conspicuous by his own merits than by those of his ancestors, and who was celebrated for the purity of his doctrine and of his life. He had ruled in the assemblies of the faithful during the times of persecution. His fellow-labourer, Stephen, who also deserved the highest praise, was sent to other scenes of conflict ; for when Melitius was informed that in the city of Germanicia many persons had been corrupted by the pernicious dogmas of Eudoxius, he sent him as a skilful physician to heal the disease. Stephen was well versed in all the learning of the Greeks, and had also been nourished in the divine doctrines. The hopes which had been formed of him did not prove fallacious ; for by his spiritual teaching he changed wolves into sheep. The great Eusebius,² on his return from exile, appointed Acacius, who enjoyed a high degree of fame, to rule the church of Beroea ; and Theodotus, whose religious course of life is celebrated even to this day, he raised to the bishopric of Jerapole. He also ordained Eusebius bishop of Chalcidia, and likewise our own lord, Isidore. They were both admirable men, filled with zeal for God. It is also said that he ordained Eulogius to the bishopric of Edessa. Eulogius had zealously defended the doctrines of the apostles ; and had been banished with Protogenes to the city of Antinous. The admirable bishop Barseas had died before this period. Melitius placed Protogenes, who had shared all the conflicts of Eulogius, in the bishopric of Carras, and sent him as a skilful physician to the city to heal the spiritual diseases of its inhabitants. Lastly, St. Eusebius ordained Maris to the bishopric of Dolica, a small town infected at that period by the Arian

¹ See above, book iii. ch. 19.

² A difficulty arises as to how Eusebius could ordain or consecrate beyond his own province. Baronius supposes that it was by authority committed to him from the synod at Antioch. Valesius thinks that he acted thus by a Divine impulse from the Holy Spirit, which warranted him in disregarding the ordinary canons of the church on account of the exigency and emergency. See above, note on book iv. ch. 13.

heresy. Maris being an exemplary man, and endowed with many virtues, the great Eusebius desired to instal him himself in the episcopal chair, and accordingly went to Dolica. As he was entering the city, a woman who had imbibed the Arian errors threw down a tile from the top of a house upon his head : he survived the blow but a short time, and was translated to a better life. When he drew near his end, he made those around him promise upon oath never to seek for the woman who had committed the deed. He thus strove to imitate his Lord, who prayed for those who crucified him, saying, " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do " (Luke xxiii. 34). And in the same way Stephen, a fellow-labourer in the ministry, cried out when volleys of stones were cast at him, " Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Such, after all his numerous conflicts, was the end of the great Eusebius. After having escaped from the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, he suffered by those of impious heretics. But those hands obtained for him the crown of martyrdom. All that I have now related took place after the return of the bishops from exile.

Gratian heard that the barbarians who had burnt Valens had gone into Thrace ; and in consequence he left Italy and repaired to Pannonia.

CHAP. V.—VICTORY OF THE GENERAL THEODOSIUS.

AT this time Theodosius was universally held in the highest honour on account of his valour and of his illustrious birth. To evade the envy of those who were his equals in rank, he resided in Spain, the place of his birth and of his education. The emperor, perceiving that the barbarians were highly inflated with their late victory, thought that the most effectual method of arresting the evils of war would be to place Theodosius at the head of the army. Having therefore sent for him from Spain, and promoted him to the rank of general, he sent him with the troops against the enemy. Being encouraged and animated by faith, he marched onwards with corresponding alacrity. As soon as he arrived in Thrace he ranged his troops in order of battle. He fell upon the barbarians with an impetuosity which they could not withstand ; he broke their ranks, compelled them to take flight, and hotly pursued

them. Many of the barbarians were slain, not only by the Romans, but also by their own countrymen. The greater number of them fell, while a few succeeded in effecting an escape by crossing the Danube. After obtaining this complete victory, the illustrious general hastened to convey the intelligence of his own achievements, and of the laurels he had gained, to the emperor: but the whole relation seemed so incredible, that the emperor would scarcely give credit to it, while certain persons, stimulated by envy, were led to declare that he had taken to flight, and that the army had been destroyed. To confute his adversaries, he requested that messengers might be despatched to the field of battle, where the dead bodies of the barbarians were lying. "It will be easy," said he, "to compute the number of the slain by the spoils left on the field." The emperor assented to this request, and sent persons to inspect the spot, and to ascertain the truth of the report.

CHAP. VI.—DREAMS OF THEODOSIUS.

IN the mean time the admirable general saw a vision which was evidently revealed to him by the God of all. He thought that Melitius, the bishop of the church of Antioch, invested him with the imperial robes, and placed a crown upon his head. He saw this vision during the night; and in the morning he mentioned it to one of his friends, who told him that the dream was certainly neither enigmatical nor ambiguous. After the lapse of a few days the messengers who had been sent to inspect the field of battle returned, and reported that thousands of the barbarians had fallen. The emperor believed their assertion, rejoiced that he had appointed so excellent a general, associated him with himself in the government of the empire, gave to him all the Eastern provinces which had been held by Valens, and then returned to Italy. As soon as Theodosius obtained the imperial government, his first endeavour was to restore concord among the churches. He assembled all the bishops of his part of the empire to Constantinople. The Arian heresy was received in this city alone, all the other regions of the Western empire having been happily preserved from it. Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine, and Constantians, the youngest son, had preserved inviolate the faith of

their father, and Valentinian, the emperor of the West, had carefully fostered religion.

CHAP. VII.—CELEBRATED BISHOPS OF THE ARIAN FACTION.

THE errors of Arianism had been propagated throughout the greater part of the Eastern empire. Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria, in Egypt, and had there disseminated his blasphemous opinions. The evil seed was watered by Patrophilus and Aëtius of Palestine, by Paulinus and Gregory of Phœnicia, by Theodotus of Laodicea, by George his successor, and, at a subsequent period, by Athanasius and Narcissus of Cilicia. Eusebius and Theognis of Bithynia, Menophantes the Ephesian, Theodore of Perinthius, Maris of Chalcedonia, and others from Thrace, distinguished only by their evil qualities, carefully cultivated the tares, and contributed greatly to their growth. The labours of these wicked husbandmen were forwarded by the weakness of Constantius and by the impiety of Valens. It was on this account that Theodosius commanded only the bishops belonging to his own empire to assemble at Constantinople. When they had assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty, he desired them to point out the great Melitius to him, for he wished to recognise his person by the sole remembrance of what he had seen in his dream. When the whole assembly of bishops had been ushered into the palace, the emperor, without noticing the others, ran up directly to the great Melitius, and embraced him, kissed his eyes, lips, breast, head, and the right hand which had crowned him, and exhibited all those demonstrations of affection which would be shown by a dutiful son on beholding a beloved father after a long separation. He recounted to him the vision which he had seen. After having spoken with great benevolence to all the other bishops, he besought them, as though they had been his fathers, to deliberate on the subject for which they had met.

CHAP. VIII.—COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE bishop who had formerly ruled the church of Nazianzus¹ was at this period residing at Constantinople, zealously

¹ According to Valesius, we are not to understand Gregory here, but some coadjutor bishop of the see.

opposing the Arian blasphemies. He fed the people of God with doctrines of the gospel. He sought out those who had wandered from the flock, and reclaimed them from the pernicious pasturages; and thus the sheep under his care rapidly increased in numbers. On perceiving his assiduity, the holy Melitius, who was well acquainted with the spirit of those canons¹ which, for the purpose of frustrating ambitious schemes, prohibited the translation of bishops, confirmed the most divine Gregory in the bishopric of Constantinople. A short time afterwards Melitius entered upon that life which is exempt from sorrow; and funeral orations were delivered in his praise by all who possessed the gift of oratory. Timothy,² bishop of Alexandria, who had succeeded Peter the successor of Athanasius, ordained Maximus in the office of the admirable Gregory. This Maximus was a cynic, and had long hair, similar to that worn by all philosophers of his sect, but it was cut off by order of Timothy. He held the pernicious doctrines of Apollinaris. The bishops who were then assembled at the council did not approve of this extraordinary proceeding. They were all exemplary men, and full of divine zeal and wisdom. Helladius, the successor of the great Basil, Gregory and Peter, the brothers of the same Basil, Amphilochius, bishop of Lycaonia, Optimus, bishop of Pisidia, and Diodorus, bishop of Cilicia, were among them. There were also present Pelagius, bishop of Laodicea, Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, Acacius, bishop of Beroa, Isidore, our own bishop, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, Gelasius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, a man distinguished by the purity of his doctrine and the sanctity of his life, and many others of extraordinary virtue. All these bishops had withdrawn from communion with the Egyptians, and held their sacred assemblies in concert with the great Gregory. This bishop exhorted them to unity, and told them that, as they had assembled for the purpose of restoring peace to the church, they ought to seek concord among each other above all individual considerations. "By this means," said he, "I shall be delivered from many anxieties; I shall enjoy the repose which I desire, and you, after a

¹ He alludes to the 15th canon of the Council of Nice, which forbids the translation of bishops, priests, and deacons, from one church to another.

² Theodoret is mistaken here, for it was Peter, and not Timothy, who ordained Maximus.

long and distressing war, will secure the blessings of peace. For it would be most absurd if, now that we have just escaped from the weapons of our enemies, we were to fall upon each other, and destroy our own strength, thus causing those who hate us to rejoice. Seek then for a man of virtue and of wisdom, capable of directing the multitude, and of bearing the weight of so great a responsibility, and place him in the archiepiscopal office." These excellent pastors acquiesced in these suggestions, and elected Nectarius, a man of noble birth and extraordinary virtue, bishop of the metropolis of the empire. They condemned Maximus to be deprived of the archiepiscopal dignity, because he had embraced the errors of Apollinaris. After having framed some canons for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, and after having confirmed the Nicæan confession of faith, they separated and returned to their respective places of residence. The following summer many of them were again obliged by some ecclesiastical affairs to assemble in the metropolis. [They there received a letter from the bishops of the West, inviting them to attend a general council about to be held in Rome. But these bishops refused to undertake a journey from which no advantage could accrue to them.] They however wrote to them, described the storm which had been excited against the church, and gently reminded them of their neglect. They also wrote a brief summary of the doctrines of the apostles. To show the virtue and wisdom of the writers, I shall insert the letter.

CHAP. IX.—SYNODICAL LETTER INDITED BY THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"To our most honoured lords, and most religious brethren and fellow-ministers, Damasis, Ambrose, Brittonius, Valerian, Ascholius,¹ Anemius, Basil, and to the other holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome, the orthodox bishops, who are convened in the great city of Constantinople, send greeting in the Lord.

"It would be useless to describe to you, as if you were ignorant of the facts, the innumerable evils which we have suf-

¹ He was the only bishop from the West who was present at the council held at Constantinople.

ferred from the fury and the power of the Arians. For we cannot believe that our sufferings have been regarded with so much indifference by you, that you can now require to be informed of that in which you ought long ago to have sympathized. The tempests with which we have been visited cannot be unknown to you. The shortness of the time which has elapsed since the persecution, renders it impossible that these things could have passed away from the memory either of the sufferers, or of those whose love constrains them to make the sorrows of others their own. It was but, as it were, yesterday, that many who had been exposed to numberless afflictions were permitted to return from banishment. The dead bodies of many who died in exile have been brought home. Some, after their return from banishment, have been exposed to greater sufferings in their own houses, from the fury of the heretics, than they ever experienced in foreign and distant lands. Some of them, like the blessed Stephen, were stoned to death. Various species of tortures were inflicted on others, so that they bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus. Who can estimate the amount of the taxes which were laid upon the cities? who can compute the number of individuals who were proscribed, or reckon up the long list of plots, of insults, and of imprisonments? In fact, our sufferings were so multiplied as to exceed arithmetical computation; and this must have arisen either from the justice of God, in visiting our sins with chastisement; or from his mercy, in being willing to exercise our patience by the severity of afflictions. We therefore return thanks to God for having, by so many visitations, bestowed instruction on us his servants, and for having, according to the fulness of his mercy, worked out deliverance for us. Much leisure, a long period of time, and great labour, are requisite to enable us to remove the disorders into which the church has so long been plunged, and to restore it to its original state of healthful piety. For although we are now freed from the violence of persecutions, and have recovered the churches which were so long in the possession of the heretics, we are still molested by wolves who, ever since they have been expelled from the fold, have continually seized the sheep in the forests, have excited the people to sedition, and have watched for opportunities of injuring the church. Hence it is necessary, as I have already stated, to bestow much time

upon these important matters. You have manifested to us your brotherly love, as is signified in the letters of your most pious emperor, by inviting us to attend as your members at the council which you intend, according to the will of God, to hold in Rome; in order that, as we alone had to struggle with affliction, you may not reign alone now that the emperors are of one accord in religion; but that, to use the expression of the apostle, we may reign with you. It was our prayer to have been enabled to comply with your desire, and we were ready to ask, Who will give us the wings of a dove, that we may fly to you and repose by your side? But we could not join you without leaving our churches, which now would be inexpedient, because the work of restoration is commencing, and nothing can be done without us. We were assembled at Constantinople when we received your letters¹ of last year. The preceding year we had been convened at the council of Aquilea by the most pious emperor Theodosius. Those only who had been convened from the various provinces to the council of Constantinople have been apprized of the proposition; and we were all of opinion that it was not expedient to undertake longer voyages. Besides, the time is too short to admit of our making preparations for so long a journey, or of our communicating with the bishops of the various provinces on the subject, and obtaining their sanction. And besides, as many amongst us are prevented by other insuperable obstacles from undertaking the voyage, we adopt the only means in our power of effecting the two objects, of carrying forward the restoration of the church, and at the same time of manifesting to you our love towards you. We have commissioned our most revered and honoured brethren and fellow-labourers, the bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, to go to you, and to certify that we desire nothing but peace, that we seek nothing but unity, and that all our zeal is concentrated in the maintenance of sound faith. Whether we have suffered persecutions, distresses, menaces of emperors, tyranny of rulers, or the cruelty of heretics, we have suffered them in defence of the faith of the gospel which was signed at Nice, in Bithynia, by three hundred and eighteen fathers. You, and I, and all who do not wish to overturn the word of truth, must agree in this con-

¹ They allude to the epistle of the council of Italy addressed to the emperor Theodosius, as mentioned above.

fession of faith; for in it are set forth the ancient doctrines which are conformable to baptism, which teach us to believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and which declare that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have the same Divinity, the same substance, and the same power; and that the three perfect hypostases, or three perfect persons, are co-equal and co-eternal. Therefore we have rejected the hypothesis of Sabellius, which confounds the three persons by denying their characteristics; neither do we receive the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, or of the spiritualists, who divide the substance, the nature, and the Divinity of the Godhead, and who, denying the uncreated, consubstantial, and co-eternal Trinity, speak of a Trinity which they represent as having been created, or as consisting of diverse natures. We have preserved in all its purity the doctrine concerning the incarnation of the Lord, not admitting that he assumed an imperfect body, destitute either of a soul or of mind; but confessing that the Word of God was perfect before all ages, and that in the last times He, for our salvation, became perfect man. This is a brief summary of the faith which we constantly preach; you will be led to look upon this confession with still higher satisfaction if you will peruse the document written by the synod of Antioch,¹ and also that drawn up last year at the general² council of Constantinople; for in these documents the doctrines of faith are more fully explained, and they contain likewise the condemnation, to which our own signatures are affixed, of the heresies which have lately arisen. With respect to the government of individual churches, there is, as you know, an ancient decree established by the holy fathers when assembled at Nice, which enjoins that the ceremony of ordination should be performed by the bishops of the particular province in which it takes place, or, if agreeable to them, by the bishops of the neighbouring provinces who may be with them. You must know that we have closely adhered to this canon, and that the bishops of our most important cities have been ordained in ac-

¹ That synod, namely, which was held A. D. 378, in which a formula of faith was agreed upon, and fortified by sundry anathemas upon several heresies.

² The Western bishops not being represented in this council, it was never held to be a general council, strictly speaking.

cordance with it. The church of Constantinople, for instance, which may be said to be only recently founded, we having but just rescued it, through the mercy of God, from the blasphemy of the heretics as from the jaws of a lion, has received the most revered and beloved Narcissus for its bishop: he was ordained by the unanimous consent of the general council in the presence of our most pious emperor Theodosius, amid the joyful acclamations of the clergy and of all the city. In the same way also did the bishops of Syria and of the Eastern diocese¹ ordain, by unanimous consent and with the approval of the church, the most honoured and beloved Flavian to the government of the church of Antioch, the city in which the name of Christian was first introduced. His ordination has since been ratified by a council. We must apprise you that the revered and pious Cyril is bishop of the church of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all the churches,² that he was ordained according to law by the bishops of the province, and that he has in various places withstood the Arians. We beseech you to rejoice with us that these bishops have been ordained in a manner so strictly in accordance with the canon, and we entreat you to be united to them by spiritual love and by the fear of the Lord, which represses human passions, and which causes us to attach more importance to the edification of the church than to the love or sympathy of any creature. When we have come to one mind respecting the doctrines of faith, and when Christian love is established between us, we shall cease from saying what the apostle condemns, ‘I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas.’ We shall all be of Christ, who will not be divided in us; but, by God’s help, we shall preserve the oneness of the body of the church, and shall stand with confidence before the tribunal of the Lord.”

Thus did the bishops write against the errors of Arius, Aëtius, Eunomius, Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, Paul of Samosata, and Macedonius. They also openly condemned the new doctrines of Apollinaris, saying,—“We have preserved unchanged the doctrine of our Lord’s incarnation, and we

¹ Socrates, Eccl. Hist. book v. ch. 8, asserts that patriarchs were first appointed in this council.

² As being the church of that city in which Jesus Christ died, and the first foundations of the faith were laid. But this does not interfere with the other sense in which the same title is attributed to the see of Rome.

cannot admit that he assumed our incomplete body destitute of either soul or mind." Damasis, who merited the highest celebrity, had no sooner heard of the rise of this heresy, than he deposed Apollinaris and his disciple Timothy, and ejected them from the church. This he signified to the bishops of the East by a letter which I shall now insert.

CHAP. X.—LETTER OF DAMASIS,¹ BISHOP OF ROME, AGAINST
APOLLINARIS AND TIMOTHY.

"WHEN you are led by love, my much-honoured sons, to pay due reverence to the apostolical chair, it is much to your own advantage. For though we are placed at the helm of that great and holy church in which the holy apostle sat down to teach, yet we confess ourselves to be altogether unworthy of the honour. And we strive earnestly, by every means in our power, to attain the glory and blessedness of which he is now possessed. Know then, that we have condemned Timothy, the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, and his impious doctrines, and that we hope none of his sect will arise in future. If this old serpent, who has already been struck once or twice, and driven from the church, should revive to receive his own punishment, and should seek by his deadly venom to inflict mortal injury on some of the faithful, do you carefully shun his path, and adhere firmly and steadfastly to the faith of the apostles which was signed and published by the fathers at Nice; and permit not either the clergy or the people under your jurisdiction to give ear to vain words or forbidden questions. For we have already laid down the following rule, namely, that whoever professes to be a Christian ought to preserve the doctrines of the apostles; for Paul says, 'if any one preach another doctrine than that ye have received, let him be anathema.' Christ, our Lord, the Son of God, has by his sufferings obtained redemption for all mankind, and, by having borne the whole weight of human guilt, has delivered all men from sin. Whoever asserts that his human or Divine nature is imperfect, is full of the spirit of the devil, and shows himself to be the son of perdition. Why then should you ask me to depose Timothy? He has been

¹ Baronius fixes A. D. 373 as the probable date of this epistle. Valesius would place it a year or two later.

already deposed with his teacher Apollinaris, by the sentence of the apostolic chair, in the presence of Peter, bishop of Alexandria; and in the day of judgment he will suffer the vengeance and the torments which are his due. If he seduce any light-minded persons to embrace his opinions, and place his confidence in them, renouncing the confession of true hope in Christ, he will perish with all those who desire to subvert the canons of the church. May your God preserve you in health, my much-honoured sons.”

Other letters were written by the bishops assembled in Rome, against various heresies; and it is requisite to insert the following in this part of my history.

CHAP. XI.—SECOND SYNODICAL LETTER WRITTEN BY DAMASIS
AGAINST VARIOUS HERESIES.

CONFESSIO*N* of the Catholic faith, sent by the pope Damasius to the bishop Paulinus,¹ when he was at Thessalonica in Macedonia.

“As since the council of Nice many errors have arisen, and some have even blasphemously presumed to say that the Holy Ghost was made by the Son, we pronounce anathema against all those who do not preach with cordiality that the Holy Ghost is of the same substance, and possesses the same power, as the Father and the Son. We also anathematize those who follow the error of Sabellius, and say that the Father is the same as the Son. We also anathematize Arius and Eunomius, who, with equal impiety, although in different words, affirm that the Son and the Holy Ghost are created beings. We also anathematize the Macedonians, who, springing up from the root of Arius, have changed in name, though not in impiety. We anathematize Photinus, who, reviving the heresy of Ebion, declares that our Lord Jesus Christ is the son of Mary only. We anathematize those who say that there are two sons, one existing before all ages, and the other since the incarnation. We anathematize those who say that the Word of God, by assuming a human body, supplied the place of a rational soul in that body. The Word of God did not

¹ Some interpreters have hence supposed that Paulinus was bishop of Thessalonica. It is hardly necessary to add, that he was bishop of Antioch, and of no other see.

supply the place of a rational and intelligent soul in the body which he assumed. He took upon himself a rational and intelligent soul, but without sin, for the salvation of mankind. We anathematize those who say that the Word of God is in any way separated from the Father, that He is not of the same substance as the Father, or that He will have an end. Those who have wandered from church to church until they returned to the cities in which they were originally ordained, we hold to be estranged from communion with us. If, while any bishop is travelling from place to place, some one else happen to be ordained in his office, then he who left the city must remain deprived of the sacerdotal dignity until his successor is called to rest in the Lord. If any one say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have not always existed, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Son was begotten of the Father, that is to say, of his Divine nature, let him be anathema. If any one do not say that the Son is the true God, even as the Father is the true God, and that He can do all things, that He sees all things, and that He is equal to the Father, let him be anathema. If any one pretend that when the Son of God took upon him our flesh He was not in heaven with the Father, at the very time that He was on the earth, let him be anathema. If any one affirm that in the death of the cross the sufferings were endured by the Divine nature of the Son of God, and not by the body and rational soul which He assumed when he took upon himself the form of a servant, even as is declared in the Holy Scriptures, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, that He was crucified in the flesh, that He suffered death in the flesh, and that He was the first-born of the dead, even as He is also life, and, like God, the Giver of life, let him be anathema. If any one should not confess that He has now sat down at the right hand of the Father in the human body which he took upon himself, and that He will come in the same body to judge the living and the dead, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Holy Ghost is really and truly of the Father, even as is the Son, that He is of the Divine substance, and that He is very God, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Holy Ghost is almighty, omniscient, and omnipresent, even as are the Father and the Son, let him

be anathema. If any one say that the Holy Ghost was created or made by the Son, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Father made all things, visible and invisible, by the Son, who became incarnate, and by the Holy Ghost, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one in Divinity, power, majesty, glory, and dominion, having one kingdom, one will, and one truth, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are truly three Persons, co-equal and co-eternal, possessing all things, both visible and invisible, that they are all-powerful, that they judge all things, and give life to all things, and that they have made and that they preserve all things, let him be anathema. If any say that the Holy Ghost ought not to be worshipped by all creatures, like the Father and the Son, let him be anathema. If any one think correctly respecting the Father and the Son, without entertaining orthodox opinions with regard to the Holy Ghost, he is a heretic; because all heretics who have formed mistaken notions concerning the Son of God and the Holy Ghost, are as guilty of unbelief as the Jews and the Pagans. If any one divide the Divinity, by pretending that as the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, that these three are three gods and not one God by the oneness of Divinity and of power, (as we believe and know, for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God in three Persons,) if he put aside the Son and the Holy Ghost, and recognise the Father alone as the one God, let him be anathema. The name of *gods* has been given by God to angels and to saints. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are not called *gods*, but *God*, because of the oneness of their Divinity, and because they are co-equal; so that we know that we are baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and not in the name of angels or of archangels, as the heretics, the Jews, and the Pagans foolishly imagine. The salvation of Christians consists in believing in the Trinity, that is to say, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and in being baptized in the name of the one and the same Divinity, Power, Godhead, and Substance, in which we have believed."

CHAP. XII.—DEATH OF GRATIAN.—TYRANNY OF MAXIMUS.

THE above incidents occurred during the reign of Gratian. After having rendered himself redoubtable in war, and distinguished himself by the clemency and justice of his administration, he fell in a conspiracy which had been raised against him, leaving no children to inherit the empire. His brother, a very young man bearing the name of his father, was his only heir. Maximus contemned the extreme youth of Valentinian, and seized the empire of the west.

CHAP. XIII.—PLOT FORMED BY JUSTINA, THE WIFE OF VALENTINIAN, AGAINST AMBROSE.

JUSTINA, the wife of the elder Valentinian, and the mother of the younger, made known to her son, about this time, the principles of Arianism which she had embraced long previously. Perceiving the fervour of her husband's zeal for the faith, she concealed her sentiments during his life. But, after his death, she boldly presented these erroneous doctrines to the young and flexible mind of her son. He readily listened to the representations of his mother, and was seduced by the allurements of maternal affection, without discerning the deadly nature of the bait. He repeated the arguments which had been brought before him to Ambrose, expecting that if he could convince this bishop, all other persons would by his means be readily led to receive the same sentiments. But Ambrose reminded him of the piety of his father, and besought him to preserve it inviolate as a rich inheritance which was his by right of birth. He explained to him the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy; proving that the one was conformable to the doctrines preached by the Lord and by his apostles, while the other was contrary to them, and opposed to the spiritual law.¹ The prince, who was very young, and who had besides been deceived by his mother, not only refused to assent to the words of Ambrose, but took great offence at them, and commanded the church to be surrounded by a band

¹ He probably means the orthodox Christian faith, and especially the decrees of the council of Nicæa. There is a manifest allusion to the passage in Acts xv. 28, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

of heavy and of light-armed infantry. But all that he could do was insufficient to shake the firmness of this great man, who regarded the proceedings of the prince with as much indifference as he would have looked upon frightful figures brought upon the stage to terrify children. This greatly exasperated the young prince, and he sent to desire Ambrose to leave the church. "I will not leave it," replied the bishop, "I will not abandon the sheepfold to wolves, neither will I give up the church of God to blasphemers. If you wish to kill me, you have only to strike me with a sword or a spear; I am willing to suffer such a death."

CHAP. XIV.—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MAXIMUS THE EMPEROR AND VALENTINIAN THE YOUNGER.

AFTER this contest had continued for some time, Maximus, hearing of the violent persecution raised against the great herald of the truth,¹ wrote to Valentinian, beseeching him to terminate the war which he was waging against religion, and exhorting him not to abandon the faith of his father. He also threatened him with war if he refused to comply with his entreaties; and immediately confirmed his words by his actions, for he collected an army and marched towards Milan, where Valentinian was then residing. Being apprized of his approach, Valentinian fled to Illyria, and learnt by experience the baneful tendency of his mother's counsels.

CHAP. XV.—OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN WRITING BY THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS UPON THESE OCCURRENCES.

WHEN the excellent emperor Theodosius had heard of the proceedings of Valentinian, and of the letter of Maximus, he wrote to the young fugitive, and told him that the confidence of the usurper of the government, as contrasted with the intimidation of the lawful emperor, ought not to excite surprise, because the emperor waged war against religion, while the usurper had taken up arms in her defence. The opponent of religion is always defeated, and obliged to escape naked, while he who defends her is invariably victorious; for the Author of piety is ever present with piety. Such were the truths

¹ i. e. Ambrose.

contained in the letter of Theodosius. At a subsequent period, when the young prince threw himself upon his protection, Theodosius extricated him in the first place from the depths of impiety, and led him back to the religion of his father: he then took up arms on his behalf against the usurper, and restored the prince to his dominions; and, to revenge the death of Gratian, who had been unjustly murdered, he put the usurper to death.

CHAP. XVI.—AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

WHEN Theodosius returned to the East, the admirable Amphilocheus, of whom mention has been already made, requested him to prohibit the Arians from holding their assemblies in the cities. The emperor, conceiving that this requisition involved the exercise of too much harshness, refused to comply with it. The wise Amphilocheus remained silent for a time, and then adopted an expedient which is worthy of being remembered. He went to the palace soon after this occurrence. Arcadius, the emperor's son, who had been recently invested with the imperial dignity, was seated near the emperor. Amphilocheus saluted the father, according to custom, but omitted to salute the son. The emperor, imagining that this omission had arisen from forgetfulness, called him back, and commanded him to salute his son. Amphilocheus declared to him the motive of his conduct; and said in a loud voice, "You see, O emperor, that you cannot endure to see any want of respect manifested towards your son, but that you are filled with indignation against those who insult him. You may be sure then that the God of all holds in abhorrence the blasphemies uttered against His only-begotten Son, and that He turns away from those who thus dishonour Him." The emperor was as much astonished at this speech as he had been by the conduct of Amphilocheus, and immediately enacted a law prohibiting heretics from holding assemblies.¹

But it is not easy to escape all the snares of the common enemy of mankind. It often happens that he who evades the

¹ There were many laws passed against heretics in the 16th book of the Theodosian Codex. But Valesius does not find this particular one enumerated among them. It is probable that Theodoret has made some chronological error.

allurements of voluptuousness is enslaved by avarice; he who rises superior to avarice is overcome by envy; he who is not subject to envy is not free from anger; and there are besides thousands of other snares by which the feet of men are entangled, and in which they are captured to their own destruction. The passions which derive their origin from the body are often as the instruments by which the soul is slain. It is only when the mind is intent upon divine things, that the force of temptation can be resisted. As the emperor was a man, and was possessed of the passions of man, it ought not to excite astonishment that his justifiable indignation became on one occasion unmeasured and burst all bounds, and that by the immoderate indulgence of anger he committed a deed of atrocious cruelty. I shall relate this action for the profit of my readers. The details connected with it redound more to the praise than to the dishonour of this admirable emperor.

CHAP. XVII.—MASSACRE AT THESSALONICA.

THESSALONICA is a large and populous city: it is situated in the province of Macedonia, and is the metropolis of Thessaly, Achaia, and of several other provinces which are under the administration of the governor of Illyria. A sedition arose in this city, and some of the magistrates were stoned and dragged through the streets. When the emperor was informed of this occurrence, his anger rose to the highest pitch: and, instead of curbing it by the suggestions of reason, he gratified his vindictive desire of vengeance by unsheathing the sword most unjustly and tyrannically against all; slaying alike the innocent and the guilty. It is said that seven thousand persons were put to death without any of the forms of law, and without even having judicial sentence passed upon them; but that, like the ears of corn in the time of harvest, they were all alike cut down.

CHAP. XVIII.—FIDELITY OF THE BISHOP AMBROSE.—PIETY OF THE EMPEROR.

AMBROSE, of whom we have so often spoken, when apprized of this deplorable catastrophe, went out to meet the emperor, who, on his return to Milan, desired to enter as usual the holy

church ; but Ambrose prohibited his entrance, saying, " You do not reflect it seems, O emperor, on the guilt you have incurred by the great massacre which has taken place ; but now that your fury is appeased, do you not perceive the enormity of the crime ? It may be that the greatness of your empire prevents your discerning the sins which you have committed, and that absolute power obscures the light of reason. It is, however, necessary to reflect on our nature which is subject to death and to decay ; for we are made of dust, and unto dust we must return. You must not be dazzled by the splendour of the purple in which you are clothed, and be led to forget the weakness of the body which it enrobes. Your subjects, O emperor, are of the same nature as yourself, and not only so, but they are likewise your fellow-servants. For there is one Lord and Ruler of all, and He is the Maker of all creatures, whether princes or people. How would you look upon the temple of the one Lord of all ? How would you walk upon such holy ground ? How could you lift up in prayer hands steeped in the blood of unjust massacre ? How could you with such hands presume to receive the most sacred body of our Lord ? How could you carry his precious blood to a mouth, whence the word of fury issued, commanding the wanton effusion of innocent blood ? Depart, then, and do not by a second crime augment the guilt of the first. Submit to the wholesome bonds which God the Lord of all has ordained ; for such bonds possess healing virtue and power to restore you to health."

The emperor, who had been brought up in the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and who well knew the distinction between the ecclesiastical and the temporal power, submitted to this rebuke ; and with many groans and tears returned to his palace. More than eight months after, the festival of our Saviour's birth occurred. The emperor shut himself up in his palace, mourned bitterly, and shed floods of tears. This was observed by Rufin, the controller of the palace, and he took the liberty of inquiring the cause of his tears. The emperor, sighing yet more piteously, and weeping still more bitterly, replied, " You, O Rufin, may be at ease, and may be able to divert yourself, for you do not feel the evils under which I groan. I weep and sigh when I reflect on the calamity in which I am involved ; the church of God is open to servants and to mendicants, and they can freely enter and pray to the Lord.

But to me the church is closed, and so are the doors of heaven. The following words of our Lord dwell upon my memory: 'Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' " "If you will permit me," said Rufin, "I will run to the bishop and beseech him to unloose your bonds." "You will not be able to persuade him," said the emperor. "I see the justice of the sentence which he has pronounced against me, and I know that respect for imperial power will never lead him to transgress the divine law."¹

Rufin, however, persisted in declaring that he could obtain some promise from Ambrose. The emperor, therefore, commanded him to go immediately, while he himself, animated by the hope that Rufin would obtain some concession, followed very shortly after.

As soon as St. Ambrose saw Rufin, he thus addressed him: "You imitate, O Rufin, the impudence of dogs. You were the adviser of this cruel massacre, and now you have divested yourself of every feeling of shame, and neither blush nor tremble at having given vent to your fury against the image of God." Rufin addressed him in a supplicatory tone, and told him that the emperor was coming to him. Ambrose, inspired by Divine zeal, replied, "I declare to you, O Rufin, that I forbid him from entering the gates of the holy church. If he change his empire into tyranny, I will gladly receive death."

On hearing this determination, Rufin sent to the emperor to inform him of what the bishop had said, and to advise him to remain within the palace. But the emperor, having received this message when he had reached the middle of the market-place, exclaimed, "I will go and receive the rebukes which I so justly deserve." When he arrived at the entrance of the church, he did not go into the sacred edifice, but went to the bishop who was sitting in his stranger's house,² and besought him to unloose his bonds. Ambrose accused him of having acted in a tyrannical manner, of having risen in oppo-

¹ He alludes to the law of the church which forbade the bishops to reconcile penitents to the church except at the time of the Easter festival, or else to that canon which forbade a homicide to be received into communion, except at the point of death.

² *οἶκος ἀσπαστικός*. The stranger's hall or guest-chamber, which most bishops kept for the purpose of dispensing hospitality.

sition against God, and of having trampled upon his laws. Theodosius replied, "I do not oppose the laws which have been laid down, neither do I intend to enter within the sacred doors contrary to your injunctions; but I beseech you, in consideration of the mercy of our common Lord, to unloose me from these bonds, and not to shut against me the door which is opened by the Lord to all who truly repent." "What repentance," asked the bishop, "have you then manifested for so great a crime? What remedy have you applied to so severe a wound?" The emperor replied, "It is your office to point out the remedy, and mine to receive and to comply with it." "As you acted by the impulse of passion," said the holy Ambrose, "and enacted the sentence according to the dictates of resentment rather than of reason, let a law be drawn up to cancel henceforth all decrees passed in haste and fury; and to decree that when sentence of death or of proscription has been signed against any one, thirty days are to elapse before the sentence is carried into execution, and that on the expiration of this period the case is to be brought before you; for your resentment will then be calmed, and will leave your reason and judgment at liberty to examine the facts, and to decide whether the sentence be just or unjust. If it be proved to be unjust it ought to be revoked, but if just it ought to be confirmed. The delay of this number of days will not injure the cause of justice."

The emperor listened to this advice; and, deeming it to be excellent, he immediately ordered the law to be committed to writing,¹ and he signed the document with his own hand. St. Ambrose then unloosed his bonds. The emperor, who was full of faith, took courage to enter the holy church; he prayed neither in a standing nor a kneeling posture, but throwing himself on the ground, he said, with David, "My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word" (Psal. cxix. 25). He tore his hair, struck his forehead, and shed torrents of tears as he implored forgiveness of God. When the time came to present offerings on the communion table, he went up weeping no less than before, to present his gift; and, as usual, remained afterwards within the enclosed space. The great Ambrose, however, did not suffer this in silence, but ac-

¹ The same story is given by Rufinus, Eccl. Hist. b. xviii. The law is extant in the Theodosian and Justinian Codes.

quainted him with the distinction between different places in the church. He first asked him what he wanted ; and, on his replying that he remained for the purpose of partaking of the holy mysteries, he directed his deacon to address him in the following words : “ The priests alone, O emperor, are permitted to enter within the palisades of the altar, all others must not approach it. Retire, then, and remain with the rest of the laity. A purple robe makes emperors, but not priests.”

The faithful emperor gladly listened to this representation, and sent word back to Ambrose, that it was not from arrogance that he had remained within the palisades of the altar, but because such was the custom at Constantinople, and that he owed him thanks for his advice on the occasion. Such were the virtues which adorned the emperor and the bishop. I greatly admire the boldness and fervent zeal of the one, and the submission and pure faith of the other. When Theodosius returned to Constantinople, he observed the pious regulation which had been explained to him by the great bishop. When a festival occurred he repaired to the church, and after having presented his gift at the altar, immediately retired. Nectarius, the bishop of the church, asked him why he did not remain within the precincts of the altar : he sighed and said, “ I have learnt, after great difficulty, the difference between an emperor and a priest. It is not easy to find a man capable of teaching me the truth. Ambrose alone deserves the title of bishop.” Such were the valuable results of the rebukes of a man of eminent virtue.

CHAP. XIX.—THE EMPRESS FLACILLA.

THE emperor possessed another means of progressing in piety ; his wife was well acquainted with the Divine laws, and she constantly recalled them to his memory. Far from being puffed up by the extent of her power, it only led her to desire still more ardently the things of God. The greatness of the blessings which she had received served only to increase her love towards the Lord. She watched with the greatest solicitude over all those whose bodies were mutilated, and who had lost any of their limbs ; she visited them at their own dwellings, waited upon them herself, and supplied all their wants. She repaired with the same zeal to the public hos-

pitals of the Church, where she tended the sick, made ready their culinary utensils, tasted their broth, carried the dish to them, broke their bread, divided the meat, washed their cups, and performed all the other offices for them which usually devolve upon servants. When any one endeavoured to dissuade her from this custom she always replied, "It is right for emperors to distribute gold. I offer this service to God because it is He who has invested me with the imperial dignity." She used very frequently to say to her husband, "You ought always, O man, to reflect on what you were, and on what you now are. If you were often to dwell on this thought you could not be ungrateful to your heavenly Benefactor, but you would govern with justice the empire which He has committed to you, and you would thus be rendering service to the Giver." By these counsels, so frequently reiterated, she cherished and watered the seeds of virtue which were in the breast of the emperor. She died before him;¹ and some time after her decease an incident occurred which disclosed the affection which the emperor had borne towards her.

CHAP. XX.—SEDITION IN THE CITY OF ANTIOCH.

THE frequent wars in which the emperor was involved, compelled him to lay fresh taxes on the cities of his empire. The citizens of Antioch were indignant at the new taxation; and, being still further irritated by the cruelty and severity of those who levied it, they rose up in sedition, and committed those excesses which are usually perpetrated by the multitude on similar occasions. Among other deeds, they threw down the bronze statue of the excellent empress Flaccilla, and dragged it about the streets. The emperor was very angry when informed of this insult: he deprived the city of the privileges which it had hitherto enjoyed, and bestowed them on the neighbouring city, judging that this bestowal would give the greatest grief to the citizens of Antioch; for the city of Laodicea had long been a rival to that of Antioch. Besides this he threatened to set fire to the city, and to destroy it, and reduce it to the rank of a mere village. Several of

¹ Flaccilla died A. D. 385, the year after she became the mother of Honorius. In the following year Theodosius married Galla.

the magistrates also had been sacrificed in the tumult before the emperor had received any intelligence of the sedition.

When the emperor had passed this severe sentence upon the city, the law obtained by the great Ambrosius prevented the decree from being carried into execution. But Elebichus, a general, and Cæsar, who was a superintendent, or what the Romans call a chamberlain, of the palace, went to the city to execute the threats. All the inhabitants were seized with terror. The virtuous hermits who dwelt at the foot of the mountain, and who were then very numerous, approached these men with exhortations and entreaties. Amongst them was the divine Macedonius, who was totally ignorant of all learning whether sacred or profane, and who passed his nights and his days in offering prayers to the Saviour of all men upon the top of a mountain. Without being terrified by the wrath of the king, or by the power of those who were sent against him, Macedonius boldly seized the cloak of a soldier in the midst of the city, and desired him and his companions to descend from their horses. At first, regarding him only as a man of advanced age and of short stature, clad in rags, they were indignant at his conduct. But when they were informed by a by-stander that he was a man of extraordinary virtue, they dismounted from their horses, and, embracing his knees, implored his pardon. Then this holy man, who was filled with the wisdom of God, addressed them in the following words, "Go, my friends, to the emperor, and say to him, You are not only an emperor but a man; and you ought not only to reflect on empire, but also on nature. You are a man yourself, and have to command your fellow-creatures. Man was made in the image and likeness of God. Do not, then, order the image of God to be slain. You would offend the Artificer by mutilating his image. Consider, likewise, that it is but on account of a statue of bronze that you have passed this sentence. Now it is evident to every one possessed of sense, that there is a great difference between a lifeless and a living image. Consider, also, that it is easy to us to replace a statue by making many others; whereas, of all the men who are about to be slain, we are not able to replace so much as one hair of their heads."

The two officers, after receiving their instructions from the admirable man, went to the emperor, and repeated what they

had heard. They thus calmed his anger, so that instead of executing his menaces, he wrote apologies, and explained the cause of his resentment. "It was not right," said he, "that on account of my transgression, a woman deserving of all praise should after her death receive insult; it was against me alone that the weapons of vengeance ought to have been directed." He also added, that he was much grieved at the murder of some of the magistrates. I have dwelt on these circumstances, in order that the commendable boldness of the hermit may not be consigned to oblivion; and that the utility of the law obtained at the instance of the great Ambrose may be manifested.

CHAP. XXI.—DEMOLITION OF IDOLATROUS TEMPLES THROUGH-
OUT THE WORLD.

THE most faithful emperor next directed his attention towards the suppression of idolatry, and issued a law commanding the demolition of idolatrous temples. Constantine the Great, who was so worthy of all praise, and who was the first to adorn the imperial dignity with piety, was aware of the infatuation of the whole world, and therefore expressly prohibited sacrifices to demons. He did not, however, destroy their temples, but merely ordered them to be closed. His sons followed the footsteps of their father. Julian renovated the cause of impiety, and revived the ancient errors. Jovian had no sooner entered upon imperial power, than he prohibited the worship of idols. Valentinian the Elder governed Europe according to the laws which had been established. Valens gave licence to all to worship what they pleased, and only opposed those who defended the apostolical doctrines. Throughout the whole of his reign, fire burnt upon the altars of idols: libations and sacrifices were offered to them; and festivals in their honour were held in the market-place.¹ Those who celebrated the orgies of Bacchus were seen running about the streets clad in skins and worked up to madness, tearing dogs to pieces, and committing other excesses, which were inculcated by the lord of the festival.

The faithful emperor Theodosius interdicted these rites, and consigned them to disuse. Marcellus, a most excellent bishop,

¹ Compare Tertullian's Apology, chap. 42.

was the first who carried this law into execution, by destroying the temples in his own city; for he had greater confidence in God than in the multitude of men. As the incident is worthy of being remembered, I shall here relate it. Upon the death of John, bishop of Apamea, whom we have already mentioned, Marcellus, a man zealous in spirit according to the apostolical injunction, was ordained in his stead. The prefect of the East went to Apamea, taking with him two military commanders and some soldiers. The people remained quiet from fear of the soldiery. The prefect undertook to demolish the temple of Jupiter, which was of spacious dimensions and richly ornamented. But when he perceived the firmness and solidity of the structure, he thought that no human strength could disjoin the stones; for they were of large size, and soldered together with iron and lead. The holy Marcellus observed the fears of the prefect, and sent him to execute the mandate in some other city; while he prayed to God to reveal the means of destroying the edifice. The next day, at dawn, a man came to him who was neither a builder, a stone-cutter, nor an adept in any kindred art, but who was merely accustomed to carry stones and wood on his shoulder, yet he offered to demolish the temple; for which service he asked the payment awarded to two workmen. The holy bishop having agreed to pay the stipulated sum, the man proceeded to work in the following manner. The temple was built on elevated ground, and had a portico on each of the four sides. There were also columns which were equal in height to the temple, and of which each was sixteen cubits in circumference. The stone was of so hard a nature, that it would scarcely yield to the tools. The labourer dug deeply around the foundations of these columns; and, after removing the earth, substituted wood of an oleaginous nature, to which he then set fire. But a black demon appeared, who withheld the power of the flames, and prevented the combustible matter from being consumed, according to the physical laws.

After this had occurred several times, the workman, perceiving that all his labour was useless, went to acquaint the bishop, who was then taking his mid-day repose. The bishop ran directly to the church, and called for water; when it was brought, he placed it upon the holy altar. He then threw himself upon his face on the ground, and supplicated the Lord

to manifest the weakness of the demon and His own power, in order that unbelievers might not have a pretext for continuing in their unbelief. After having uttered these and other supplications, he made the sign of the cross upon the water, and desired Equitius, a deacon who was full of faith and zeal, to take the water and to sprinkle it on the wood, and then to set fire to it anew. After the deacon had followed these instructions, the demon was not able to resist the power of the water. Although water is the antagonistical power to fire, yet, on this occasion, it acted as oil in forwarding the combustion, and in a moment the wood was consumed. The fall of three columns immediately followed, and, in their fall, they dragged with them twelve others: the side of the temple, which was supported by them, fell down at the same time. The noise of the fall resounded throughout the whole city, and the people ran to witness the spectacle. When they were informed of the flight of the inimical demon, they sang praises to the God of all. In the same way did the holy bishop destroy other temples. I could relate many other incidents respecting this bishop which would excite much astonishment. He kept up a constant epistolary correspondence with the martyrs, and he shared in their conflicts, and in their triumphs. But I shall now close the narration of these facts, lest I should weary my readers, and shall pass on to the relation of other occurrences.

CHAP. XXII.—THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.—THE IDOLATROUS TEMPLE AND STATUES DESTROYED IN THAT CITY.

THE renowned and admirable Athanasius was succeeded by Peter. Timothy succeeded Peter, and Theophilus was the successor of Timothy. Theophilus was a man of great prudence and intrepidity. He delivered the city of Alexandria from the errors of idolatry. He not only overthrew the idolatrous temples from their very foundations, but also disclosed the frauds of the priests to those whom they had deceived. These impostors had provided hollow statues, made of bronze and wood, with the back fitted against the wall, whence they secured an entrance into them. Having secreted themselves within the statues, they issued whatever commands they pleased, and the hearers, deceived by the fraud, obeyed them. By breaking

these statues, this wisest of bishops showed to the deceived people the imposture which had been practised upon them.

When he went into the temple of Serapis, which is said to have been the largest and most beautiful of the whole world, he saw a statue¹ of so prodigious a size that terror was excited by merely looking at it. The alarm which it created was increased by a rumour which had been spread abroad, that, if any one should venture to approach it, an earthquake would immediately ensue, by which all the inhabitants of the world would be ingulfed. But Theophilus regarded these words as the random expressions of drunken old women; and, looking with contempt on the size of the statue, commanded a man who had a hatchet to strike Serapis with violence. When the blow was inflicted, all the people shrieked, fearing that what had been rumoured would come to pass. But Serapis suffered no pain from the wound, neither did it utter any exclamation; for it was made of wood, and was without life. When the head was broken open, a troop of mice immediately ran out; for these animals had made their abode in the interior of the god of the Egyptians. The body was broken up into small pieces and burnt; the head was carried throughout the city, and submitted to the inspection of those who had worshipped the idol, and who now ridiculed its weakness. In this way were the temples of the demons destroyed throughout the world.

CHAP. XXIII.—DISPUTE BETWEEN FLAVIAN, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST, CONCERNING PAULINUS (A. D. 381).

FLAVIAN, who had sustained with Diodorus so many conflicts in defence of the Saviour's flock, was appointed to succeed the great Melitius in the bishopric of Antioch. Paulinus endeavoured to prove that he had himself a prior right to this bishopric. But the priests rejected his pretensions, saying, that as he would not receive the counsels of Melitius, he ought not to obtain his episcopal chair after his death, but that the pastoral office ought to be bestowed upon one who had distinguished himself by so many arduous labours, and who had so often defended the flock. This contention greatly irritated the Romans and the Egyptians against the Eastern bishops; and

¹ This is said to have been made by order of Sesostris, king of Egypt.

the consequent feelings of animosity did not subside even after the death of Paulinus.¹

When they had raised Evagrius to the episcopal chair, they still retained their resentment against Flavian, although Evagrius had been ordained against the canons of the church; for Paulinus alone had elected him; thus transgressing many of the ecclesiastical laws. The canons of the church do not permit a bishop, when on his death-bed, to ordain his successor,² but declare that the consent of all the bishops of the province is requisite, and that the ceremony of ordination is to be performed by three bishops.³ Although none of these regulations had been observed in the ordination of Evagrius, the Romans and Egyptians entered into fellowship with him, and endeavoured to prejudice the emperor against Flavian. Wearied by their importunity, the emperor at length sent to Constantinople to summon Flavian to Rome. Flavian excused himself on account of its being winter, and promised to obey the emperor's command the ensuing spring. He then returned to his native country. The bishops of Rome, among whom was not only the admirable Damasius, but also Siricius, who afterwards succeeded him, as well as Anastasius, the successor of Siricius, rebuked the pious emperor, and told him, that while he repressed the attempts of those who rose up against his own authority, he suffered those who insulted the laws of Christ to exercise the authority which they had usurped. The emperor therefore again sent to compel Flavian to repair to Rome. To this mandate the wise bishop replied with great boldness of speech, saying, "If any individuals, O emperor, should accuse me of heterodoxy, or should say that my life is derogatory to the episcopal dignity, I would permit my accusers to be my judges, and would submit to whatever sentence they might pronounce. But if it be only my right to my episcopal chair and office that they are contesting, I shall not contend for my claims, but shall relinquish my seat to whoever may be appointed to take it. Give, then, O emperor, the bishopric of Antioch to whomsoever you please."

¹ Paulinus died about A. D. 389

² This is distinctly forbidden, as Valesius remarks, by the 23rd canon of the council of Antioch. The 19th canon of the same council requires the consent of all the bishops of the province.

³ The 4th canon of the council of Nice provides that no bishop shall be consecrated except by the hands of three bishops.

The emperor admired his courage and wisdom, and sent to command him to resume the government of his church. Some time after the emperor returned to Rome, and the bishops again reproached him for not having suppressed the tyranny of Flavian. The emperor replied, by asking what species of tyranny had been exercised by Flavian, and declared his readiness to prohibit it. The bishops replying, that they could not litigate any point against an emperor, he exhorted them to be reconciled with each other, and to terminate the foolish contention. For Paulinus had died long previously, and Evagrius had been illegally ordained. Besides, the Eastern churches acknowledged the supremacy of Flavian; all the churches of Asia, of Pontus, and of Thrace, were united with him in communion: and all the churches of Illyria looked upon him as the primate of the East. The bishops of the West were convinced by these representations, and promised to lay aside their hostility, and to receive an embassy from Flavian. On hearing this, the holy Flavian sent some exemplary bishops to Rome, with some presbyters and deacons of Antioch. The principal man among them was Acacius,¹ bishop of Bercea, a city of Syria, whose fame was spread throughout the world. On his arrival with the others in Rome, he terminated the long-continued hostility which had lasted seventeen years, and restored peace to the churches. When the Egyptians became acquainted with this proceeding, they laid down their animosity, and established concord. The church of Rome was at this period governed by Innocent, a man of great sagacity and prudence; he was the successor of Anastasius. Theophilus, of whom mention has been already made, was then the bishop of Alexandria.

CHAP. XXIV.—TYRANNY OF EUGENIUS, AND THE VICTORY THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS OBTAINED BY FAITH.

THUS did this most pious emperor restore peace among the churches. But before he had fully accomplished this great work, he was informed of the death of Valentinian, and of the usurpation of Eugenius, and he therefore led his army into

¹ Sozomen (Eccl. Hist. b. viii.) relates the mission of Acacius to Rome: he fixes it, however, A. D. 398.

Europe. About this time there dwelt in Egypt a certain hermit named John, who had devoted himself to a life of austerity. He possessed many spiritual gifts, and among others, that of predicting the future. The pious emperor sent to him, to inquire whether he ought to take up arms against the usurper. He had at a former period predicted the bloodless and triumphant issue of another war; but upon this occasion he told the emperor, that, in this second war, the victory would not be obtained without much effusion of blood. In this hope the emperor marched forward to battle. Great losses were sustained by the enemy in the engagement; but many of the barbarians who formed the emperor's auxiliary forces were slain. The generals represented to him that his army was greatly reduced in numbers, and advised him to defer the war until the spring, when fresh reinforcements might be procured; but the faithful emperor refused to listen to this counsel. "It would not be right," said he, "to attribute weakness to the cross of Christ, which is borne as the standard of our army, and to testify our assent to the power of the image of Hercules, which the enemy adopts as their standard." He made this declaration in the spirit of faith, although his troops were weakened and were few in number: finding a small house towards the summit of a mountain, near which was a place for his army to encamp, he passed the whole night in praying to the Lord of the Universe. Towards the hour of cock-crowing, sleep stole upon him. As he was lying on the ground, he thought he saw two men clothed in white, and mounted on white horses, who exhorted him to be of good courage, to renounce all fear, and, at the dawn of day to draw out his troops, and lead them on to battle. They said they had been sent to aid him, and to fight for him, and told him that one of them was John the Evangelist, and the other the Apostle Philip. The emperor, after seeing this vision, prayed with still greater fervour. One of the soldiers saw the same vision, and related it to the centurion. The centurion took the soldier to the tribune; the tribune took him to the general. The general went and told the emperor, thinking that it was something new that he had to communicate. "It is not for my sake," said the emperor, "that these things were shown to him, for I fully believed those who promised me the victory. But that no one might suspect that from the desire of engaging

in battle I feigned to have seen such things, the Protector of my empire revealed the same to him also, that he might bear witness to the truth of my assertion; for it was to me that the Lord of all first gave the vision. Let us then throw off all fear, and follow our military leaders, and let us not estimate the chances of victory by the number of combatants, but let us take into account the power of our leaders."

After he had said these things to the soldiers, and had by his words filled them with alacrity, he led them down from the top of the mountain. The usurper seeing from afar the hostile army ranged in order of battle, armed his troops also, and prepared for combat. He addressed them from a rising ground, and stated that the emperor was only preparing for battle from despair and the desire of death, and he commanded his generals to capture him alive, to bind him, and to bring him before him. When the two armies approached each other, the hostile troops appeared extremely numerous, while those commanded by the emperor seemed very few in number. But when the combat commenced, the truth of the promises of the protectors of the emperor was soon manifested. A violent wind prevented the action of the enemy's shafts, and blew back their arrows upon themselves. Neither the heavy-armed men nor the archers could wound one of the emperor's army. The wind blew such a quantity of dust into their faces, that they were compelled to close their eyes. In the mean time the emperor's troops, who did not receive the least injury from the hurricane, boldly cut the enemy to pieces. The latter, perceiving that God was against them, laid down their arms, and entreated the emperor to give them quarter. He granted their petition, and desired that the usurper should be immediately brought before him. They ran to the place where the usurper, ignorant of what had occurred, was waiting to hear the issue of the battle. When he saw them running swiftly, and perceived that they were out of breath, he thought that they came to announce that victory had been gained, and asked them whether they had brought Theodosius bound, according to his commands. "We do not bring him to you," said they, "but we have to take you to him!" When they had said this, they loaded him with chains, and dragged him as a captive before him against whom he had, but a short time previously, so proudly boasted. The emperor

reminded him of the guilt of his conduct against Valentinian, of the illegality of his usurpation, and of his revolt against the lawful emperor. He also ridiculed the image of Hercules, and the folly of those who trusted in it. He then justly pronounced the sentence of death against him. Such was the conduct of Theodosius in peace and in war: he always implored the assistance of God, and invariably received it.

CHAP. XXV.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

HE was taken ill some time after the victory, and divided the empire between his sons. He gave to the elder that part of the empire which he had governed, and bestowed upon the younger the sceptre of Europe, and exhorted them both to piety,—“for it is by piety,” said he, “that peace is preserved, that war is terminated, that trophies are upreared, and that victories are decided.” After he had thus exhorted his sons, he died, and left behind him eternal fame.

CHAP. XXVI.—HONORIUS THE EMPEROR, AND THE MONK TELEMACHUS.

THE successors to the empire inherited the piety of their father. Honorius, who had received the empire of Europe, abolished the ancient exhibitions of gladiators¹ in Rome on the following occasion. A certain man named Telemachus, who had embraced a monastical life, came from the East to Rome at a time when these cruel spectacles were being exhibited. After gazing upon the combat from the amphitheatre, he descended into the arena, and tried to separate the gladiators. The sanguinary spectators, possessed by the demon who delights in the effusion of blood, were irritated at the interruption of their cruel sports, and stoned him who had occasioned the cessation. On being apprized of this circumstance, the admirable emperor numbered him with the victorious martyrs, and abolished these iniquitous spectacles.

¹ Honorius published two edicts with respect to the gladiatorial shows; one A. D. 397, extant in the Theodosian Code, Leg. 3, tit. “De Gladiatoriis,” and the other in A. D. 404, which is now lost, and to which allusion is here made.

CHAP. XXVII.—PIETY OF THE EMPEROR ARCADIUS.—ORDINATION OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

ON the death of Nectarius, the bishop of Constantinople, Arcadius,¹ who governed that part of the empire, hearing that John, the great luminary of the world, had been ordained a presbyter in Antioch, sent for him, and ordered the bishops to instal him as the pastor of the great city. This action alone is sufficient to evince the zeal of the emperor for religion. At this time Flavian was the bishop of Antioch. Elpidius, who had been the companion of the great Melitius, and who more closely resembled him in life and conversation than the wax resembles the impression of the seal, had succeeded to the government of the church of Laodicea, upon the death of Pelagius. The holy Marcellus was succeeded by the celebrated Agapetus, who had led a life of retirement during the time that the storms of persecution were raging. Maximus, a friend of John, was the bishop of Seleucia, a city situated near Mount Taurus; and Theodore was the bishop of Mopsuestia. They were both eminent as preachers. Acacius, celebrated for great prudence and sanctity of life, governed the church of Beroëa, and Leontius, who was renowned for many virtues, ruled the church of Galatia.

CHAP. XXVIII.—BOLDNESS OF THE BISHOP JOHN IN THE CAUSE OF GOD.

JOHN had no sooner received the helm of the church, than he began to rebuke crime with much boldness. He gave many useful counsels to the emperor and the empress; he obliged the priests to observe the canons of the church; and prohibited those who violated them from approaching the altar, saying, "That it was not right that those should enjoy the sacerdotal dignity who did not imitate the sanctity of those who were true priests." But he did not confine his zeal to the city: its effects were felt throughout all Thrace, which is divided into six provinces;² throughout the whole

¹ Compare Socrates, Eccl. Hist. v. 10, and vi. 2, and Sozomen, viii. 2.

² Christopherson translated the word *ἡγεμονίας* by dioceses, but there were many more than six dioceses in Thrace.

of Asia, in which there are eleven governments; and throughout Pontus, which comprises the same number of governments as Asia.

CHAP. XXIX.—IDOLATROUS TEMPLES DESTROYED BY JOHN, IN PHœNICIA.

HEARING that some of the inhabitants of Phœnicia were addicted to the worship of demons, John selected some ascetics who were filled with fervent zeal, and sent them to destroy the idolatrous temples, furnishing them with imperial edicts to authorize the act. He did not take the money, requisite to pay the labourers appointed to destroy the temples, from the royal treasury, but induced some ladies of great opulence, who were eminent on account of their faith, to defray this expense; and the temples of the demons were then thrown down from their very foundations.

CHAP. XXX.—THE CHURCH OF THE GOTHs.¹

PERCEIVING that the Scythian multitudes had been entrapped in the perfidious snares of Arianism, John made every effort to liberate them. He selected some persons who were acquainted with their language, and after having had them ordained, some as presbyters, others as deacons, and the rest as readers of the Scriptures, he assigned a church to them, and many were, by their instrumentality, reclaimed from error. He frequently visited this church himself, and addressed the people by the aid of an interpreter: and he exhorted all who were endowed with the requisite powers of mind to engage in the same service. By these means he delivered many of the inhabitants of the city from the snares in which they had been entangled, and convinced them of the apostolical doctrines.

CHAP. XXXI.—THE BENEVOLENCE OF JOHN TOWARDS THE SCYTHIANS. ZEAL MANIFESTED BY HIM AGAINST MARCION.

THE bishop, on being informed that some nomadic tribes of Scythia, who pitched their tents along the banks of the Ister,

¹ It is not certain whether the events recorded in this chapter took place A. D. 398, (immediately after the advancement of Chrysostom to the see of Constantinople,) or two years later.

thirsted for the waters of salvation, but had no one to bring the spring to them, sought out men willing to imitate the labours of the apostles, and sent them to these people. I have read some of his letters written to Leontius, the bishop of An-cyra, in which he speaks of the conversion of the Scythians, and begs him to send to them men capable of showing them the way of salvation. Hearing that there were in our neighbourhood certain villages in which the errors of Marcion were held, he wrote to the pastor of that region, and exhorted him to eradicate the evil, and offered him the aid of the imperial power. The heart-felt solicitude with which, like the divine apostle, he watched over the welfare of the churches, is clearly evinced by the facts which have been just related.

CHAP. XXXII.—PETITION OF GAÏNAS AND REPLY OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

THE following incidents prove the boldness of the bishop. A certain Scythian, named Gaïnas, who was of a ferocious, proud, and tyrannical disposition, ruled the military at this period, and had many of his own countrymen under him, and also large forces of Roman infantry and cavalry. He was feared by all, and even by the emperor, who suspected him of aspiring to the imperial dignity. As he had imbibed the infatuation of Arianism, he requested the emperor to give up a church for the use of the same persuasion. The emperor replied, that he would endeavour to give him satisfaction. He then sent for John, informed him of the request of Gaïnas, described the greatness of his power, intimated to him the ambitious projects which he was suspected of entertaining, and besought him to allay the fury of the barbarian by granting his request. The noble bishop replied, "Do not make this concession to him, O emperor ; do not bestow the holy things on dogs. Nothing could induce me to eject those who preach the Divinity of the Word, or to surrender the holy churches to those who blaspheme Him. Do not fear this barbarian, O emperor. Summon us both into your presence : do you remain silent, and listen to what we say, and I will so restrain his tongue, that he will no longer ask that which ought not to be accorded." The emperor was much pleased with this proposal ; and the next day summoned them both before him. Gaïnas having

repeated his request, John replied, by saying, that it was not permitted to the emperor to do anything against the interests of the religion which he professed. Gainas replied, that it was necessary that some edifice should be allotted to him for prayer. "All the sacred edifices are open to you," said John; "and if you desire to pray, the entrance of none is prohibited." "But I," said Gainas, "belong to another sect; and I desire that a building should be appropriated to me and to my party. The services I have rendered to the empire in many wars, render it but just that my request should be granted." "The recompences which you have received," replied the bishop, "exceed in number the services which you have rendered. You have been raised to the command of the troops, and have been invested with the consular robes. It is right that you should consider what you were formerly, and what you now are. Contrast your former poverty with your present opulence. Compare the garments which you wore before you crossed the Ister, with the robes in which you are now arrayed: you must surely perceive that, as your services have been few, so have your rewards been great; and do not be ungrateful towards those who have advanced you to so much honour." By these discourses, the doctor of the world closed the mouth of Gainas, and compelled him to be silent. Some time after, Gainas carried his long-formed projects of usurpation into execution; he collected some troops in Thrace, and raised the standard of revolt. When this intelligence was announced, all the people, both rulers and subjects, were filled with alarm. There was no one who would venture to take up arms against him, neither would any one undertake to go on an embassy to him, so greatly was the power of the barbarian feared by all.

CHAP. XXXIII.—CHRYSTOM REPAIRS AS AN AMBASSADOR
TO GAINAS.

ALL the people at this juncture persuaded this great man, he being the only one among them who was not intimidated, to go on an embassy to Gainas. He did not stop to reflect upon the altercation which had taken place between them, nor on the probable resentment of the barbarian, but repaired willingly to Thrace. When Gainas heard of the approach of

him whose fidelity in defending religion he well remembered, he joyfully travelled a long way to meet him ; and when he saw him, he placed his right hand on his eyes, and drew his children round his knees. Thus does virtue charm and intimidate her very opponents.

CHAP. XXXIV.—PERSECUTION AGAINST JOHN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

ENVY was unable to bear the lustre of the virtue of this bishop, and resorted to its usual artifices to deprive the metropolis and the whole world of his eloquence and doctrines. I cannot define the feelings I experience in writing this part of my history. For when I wish to relate the injustice to which this great man was exposed, I am confused by the recollection of the other virtues of those who injured him ; I shall therefore endeavour, as far as possible, to conceal their names. They had, from various causes, conceived so inveterate a hatred against him, that they could not perceive the greatness of his numerous virtues. They sought out some persons to accuse him ; but, as the falsity of their accusations was very manifest, they held a council without the city and passed sentence against him. The emperor believed the assertion of the bishops, and commanded him to be banished : so that John, without hearing the grounds of his accusation, and without being permitted to make any defence, was, as if he had been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, banished from the city to a place called Hieron,¹ situated at the mouth of the Pontus. At night a great earthquake took place, and the empress was exceedingly terrified ; at the earliest break of day messengers were despatched to the exile, entreating him to return with the utmost speed to the city, and deliver it from impending danger. After these messengers had departed others were despatched on the same errand, and then again others, until the Bosphorus was blocked up with the messengers. The mouth of the Propontus was filled with ships, in which the faithful people had embarked, for they all went out to him bearing lighted torches. Thus were the plots of the hostile

¹ So called from the temple of the twelve gods. The place is mentioned by Demosthenes in his oration against Leptines and in that against Polycles. The town was much resorted to by the Athenians, as being a convenient port for the corn-trade, and commanding the Euxine.

faction frustrated. A few months after, the partisans of this faction again assembled, and laying aside their former false accusations, charged him merely with having exercised the episcopal functions after his deposition. He replied, that none of the forms of law had been observed in his case, that he had heard none of the accusations, that he had made no defence, and that no sentence of condemnation had been passed in his presence, but that he had been expelled from the city, and had been afterwards recalled by the emperor. The enemies of John again assembled in council, but did not trouble themselves this time by passing another sentence of condemnation. They succeeded in persuading the emperor that the first sentence was just and legal, and had him not only expelled from the city, but banished to Cucusus, a small and unpeopled district of Armenia. An order was then issued for him to be conveyed to Pityunta, a town situated at the farthest extremity of Pontus, and of the Roman empire, lying in the neighbourhood of the most cruel and barbarous nations. But the gracious Lord did not permit this triumphant combatant to be conducted thither; for, when he had travelled as far as Comana, he was translated to a life exempt from infirmity and pain. His body was, according to his own command, deposited near the tomb of the martyr Basiliscus. It is unnecessary, and would render the history too prolix, to enumerate the bishops who were banished from their churches on his account, and who were expelled to the farthest extremities of the habitable globe; nor is it requisite to give an account of the hermits, who underwent cruel persecutions in the same cause. Besides, I think it is right to pass rapidly over occurrences, and to conceal the transgressions of those who are one with us in faith. Most of those who had treated him so unjustly received the punishment that they had merited, and their sufferings served as warnings to the others. The bishops of Europe viewed the injustice with detestation; they withdrew from communion with those by whom it had been committed, and were joined by all Illyria. Most of the Eastern cities shunned all participation in the crime, and yet did not separate themselves from the body of the church. The Western bishops would not, even after the death of the great doctor of the world, admit to communion any member of the churches of Egypt, of the

East, of the Bosphorus, or of Thrace, until they had placed the name of that inspired man on an equality with those of the other bishops. Arsacius, who succeeded him, was deemed unworthy of the bishopric. Attacus, the successor of Arsacius, sent many embassies to the bishops of the West, to solicit their friendship ; and, at length, after he had restored the name of John to the holy registers, they acknowledged him as a bishop.

CHAP. XXXV.—CYRIL, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

CYRIL, the nephew of Theophilus, was at this period bishop of Alexandria. John, a man of exemplary piety, was the bishop of Jerusalem, having succeeded another Cyril, who has been already mentioned. Alexander, who governed the church of Antioch, added the virtues of private life to the dignity of the priesthood. Before he was raised to the bishopric, he dwelt in a monastery, and led a life of conflict and austerity. He not only instructed others by precept, but confirmed his precepts by his actions. He succeeded Porphyry, who had received the helm of the church at the death of Flavian, and who had left behind him many memorials of his philanthropy, and of his remarkable prudence. The holy Alexander distinguished himself by the austerity of his life, by his love of wisdom, by his contempt of riches, by his eloquence, and by innumerable other endowments. The numerous partisans of Eustathius whom Paulinus, and after him Evagrius, would not receive into communion, were gained over by the mild exhortations of Alexander, and were re-united with the rest of the body ; and he commemorated the event by a festival which was unequalled in point of splendour and magnificence. He assembled all those who had been of the same opinions as himself, both clergy and people, and brought them to the place in which the Eustathians held their meetings. They found them engaged in singing psalms, and they sung with them. From the left gate opposite the West to the New Church, all the space was crowded with men ; presenting the similitude of a majestic river, like that which flowed through the city. On seeing this, the Jews, Arians, and Greeks lamented and mourned, because they perceived that this river was flowing into the sea of the church. This bishop was the first who

inscribed the name of the celebrated John in the ecclesiastical register.

CHAP. XXXVI.—REPENTANCE OF THOSE WHO HAD PERSECUTED THE BISHOP JOHN, AND THE REMOVAL OF HIS REMAINS.

THE remains of the great teacher were, some time after, removed to the imperial city. A great multitude of the faithful crowded the sea in ships, and lighted up part of the Bosphorus, near the mouth of the Propontis, with torches. These treasures were brought to the city by the present emperor,¹ who bears the name of his father, and who zealously maintains his pious principles. He laid his face upon the coffin, and entreated that his parents might be forgiven for having so unadvisedly persecuted the bishop. He had, by the death of his parents, been left an orphan at a very early age. But God took him under his own protection, and had him brought up in the knowledge of piety, while He preserved the empire from all seditions, and repressed the projects of usurpers. These mercies are ever present to his remembrance; and he is always ready to celebrate the praises of his Benefactor. In offering up these praises he is joined by his sisters, who have vowed perpetual virginity, and whose highest delight consists in meditating upon the Holy Scriptures; the wants of the poor they regard as their treasure. The emperor is adorned with many excellent qualities; among which may be mentioned his philanthropy and mildness, his placidity of mind, which can be ruffled by no tempests, and his sincere and stedfast faith. This will be clearly proved by the following narrative.

CHAP. XXXVII.—FAITH OF THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, AND OF HIS SISTERS.

A MAN of a bold and audacious character, who had embraced an ascetic life, went to the emperor to make some request. After he had reiterated his demand several times without obtaining it, he ejected the emperor from communion with the church, and retired after imposing this restriction. The faithful emperor returned to his palace, where some guests had been invited to a banquet. On their arrival, he said

¹ Theodosius the younger.

that he would not sit down to table until he had received absolution. He sent to the bishop, beseeching him to request him who had imposed¹ the restriction to remove it. The bishop replied that he ought not so readily to submit to such restrictions, and that none, in fact, existed. But the emperor was not content with this absolution, until he who had excommunicated him had been found, which was not effected without great trouble, and had restored him to communion ; so strong was the emperor's faith in the holy laws.

He had the ruins of the idolatrous temple removed, and their very foundations destroyed, in order that posterity might not find the slightest vestiges of former errors. This reason is inserted in the edict. These good seeds were followed by an abundant harvest, for the emperor received the protection of the Lord of the universe. Roilas, the leader of one of the wandering tribes of Scythia, passed the Danube with an immense army, devastated Thrace, and threatened to besiege and capture the imperial city ; but thunders were launched against him, by which his army was destroyed. The same disaster happened to the Persians. For at a time when the Romans were occupied against other enemies, they violated the existing treaties, and invaded the neighbouring provinces, while the emperor, who had relied on the peace which had been concluded, had sent his generals and his troops to embark in other wars. God arrested the progress of the Persians by tremendous showers of rain and hail, so that in twenty days the cavalry were unable to advance as many furlongs, and the Roman ge-

¹ Valesius remarks upon this story as follows : " This narrative is worthy of attention for many reasons : 1st, because we can infer from it that the penance was not remitted by Nectarius. For we see that at that time excommunication was usual, and that it was followed by absolution, which cannot be given except after penance performed. Moreover this narrative confirms the rule of canon law which asserts that even an unjust sentence of excommunication is to be feared, since the emperor, though unjustly sentenced, does not make light of excommunication. Further, it shows that to loose is the privilege of him alone who has the power to bind ; and that Theodoret praises the emperor for obeying herein the law of God. The person by whom Theodosius was excommunicated must have been a presbyter, though such is not stated to have been the case ; but it is rendered the more probable by the fact that the emperor requested the bishop to command him, as if he were one of his clerks. It would seem from this chapter that presbyters had no right of pronouncing excommunication except by commission from the bishop."

nerals had time to assemble their troops and advance upon them. In a former war, likewise, when the same people were besieging the city which bears the name of the emperor, God exposed them to derision. Gororanes, the Persian king, had surrounded the city more than thirty days, and had directed battering-rams against it, and likewise thousands of other machines. The city was defended only by Eunomius, its holy bishop. He succeeded in rendering useless all the machines which were brought against the place; and, as our generals were afraid either to attack the enemy, or to engage with the besiegers, he sustained the conflict alone, and preserved the city. One of the princes who were subject to the king of Persia, having presumed to utter blasphemies similar to those pronounced by Rabshakeh and by Sennacherib, and having threatened to burn the church, the holy bishop was unable to bear with his folly, and ordered a machine, to which the name of St. Thomas the Apostle had been given, to be placed on the wall, and to be directed against the blasphemer. Immediately the mouth of the impious man was struck by the stone, his head was broken, and his brains were scattered upon the earth. On seeing this, the Persian king assembled his troops, raised the siege of the city, confessed himself vanquished, and, impelled by terror, readily agreed to peace. So graciously did the Almighty Ruler of the universe watch over the welfare of the faithful emperor, and reward his attachment to his service. This emperor had the remains of John, the great luminary of the world, transported to the city as we have already mentioned. But this did not happen till after the period of time at present under consideration.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—THEODOTUS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

INNOCENT, an excellent bishop of Rome, was succeeded by Boniface. Zosimus succeeded Boniface, and his successor was Celestine. In Jerusalem, after the death of the admirable John, Praylius was intrusted with the government of the church: his meekness of disposition was in admirable accordance with the signification of his name.¹ After the death of the holy Alexander, bishop of Antioch, Theodotus, a man of extraordinary wisdom, mildness, and sanctity, was appointed

¹ Πραῦλιος, from πραῖς, mild, gentle, meek.

to the bishopric of Antioch. He re-united the sectarians who had embraced the views of Apollinaris to the rest of the flock. Many of them, however, retained some of their former erroneous principles.

CHAP. XXXIX.—THE PERSECUTION IN PERSIA, AND THE MARTYRDOMS WHICH TOOK PLACE.

ABOUT this period Isdegerdes, the Persian king, kindled a war against the churches. The following was the cause of this war. There was a certain bishop named Abdas, who possessed many virtues: he was led by unrestrained zeal to destroy a Pyrœum, for so the Persians call the temples dedicated to fire, which they worship as a god. The emperor being informed of this act by the Magi, sent for Abdas. At first he only reproved him in a kind manner, and desired him to re-erect the Pyrœum. Abdas having refused to obey, the emperor threatened to destroy all the Christian churches. He first ordered the holy man to be slain, and then proceeded to the demolition of the churches. I confess that the destruction of the Pyrœum was quite mis-timed. When the holy apostle went to Athens, and saw idolatry established in the city, he did not destroy any of the idolatrous altars, but, by his discourses to the citizens, he proved their folly, and made truth manifest to them. I, however, greatly admire the firmness of Abdas, in consenting to die rather than to re-erect the temple which he had destroyed, and I judge that he thereby merited a crown. Indeed it seems to me almost the same thing to erect a temple to fire, and to fall down and worship it as a deity. From this act of Abdas arose a tempest which raged with violence against all persons of piety, and which lasted no less than thirty years: its violence and long duration were mainly occasioned by the Magi. The Persians give the name of Magi to those who attribute divinity to the elements of nature.¹ I have exposed the fables which they hold in another work, with the answers proper to be given to all their questions. Upon the death of Isdegerdes, the kingdom and, as if by hereditary succession, the war against piety devolved upon

¹ τὰ στοιχεῖα. This word, as Valesius remarks, is frequently used, not only for the four elements of nature, but also for the sun and moon, and the signs of the Zodiac.

his son Gororanes, who, at his death, transmitted both to his son. It is not easy to describe the various species of punishments which they invented to torture the faithful. Some had their hands flayed, and others their backs. Some had the skin torn off the face, from the forehead to the chin. Others had reeds, which had been split in half, fastened round their bodies, and bound on as tightly as possible from head to foot, then each of the reeds was dragged off with great force, bearing with it the adjacent skin. This operation occasioned great agony. The persecutors also dug pits, and filled them with mice; they then threw the pious defenders of the faith into these pits, after having first bound their hands and their feet, so that they could not drive off the animals. The mice, pressed by hunger, devoured their flesh, thus occasioning exquisite torture. Besides these cruelties, the persecutors devised and executed yet more barbarous punishments, which were suggested to them by the enemy of human nature and of truth. But nothing could shake the fortitude of these defenders of the faith. Some of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to the persecutors, desiring to receive the death which leads to immortal life. I shall relate the sufferings of two or three of these holy men, in order that their fortitude may convey an idea of that of the others. Hormisdas was descended from the illustrious race of Aclemenides, and was the son of a prefect. When the king heard that he was a Christian, he sent for him, and desired him to deny God the Saviour. But he told the king, that this command was neither just nor expedient. "Whoever," said he, "can be easily induced to condemn and to deny the God of the universe, would be much more easily persuaded to despise kings, who are but men, and by nature subject to death. If it be a crime deserving capital punishment, O king," continued he, "to deny your power, how much more deserving of punishment is he who denies the Creator of all things." The king, instead of admiring the wisdom of this admirable speech, deprived him of his possessions and of his honours, and commanded him to take charge of the camels of the army. After many days had elapsed, the king, as he was looking through a window, caught sight of this great man, and perceived that he had become tanned by the heat of the sun, and that he was covered with dust. Remembering his illustrious parentage, the king sent

for him, and ordered him to be attired in a linen tunic. Then, thinking that his mind would be subdued by his former labour, contrasted with the present kind treatment afforded him, he said to him, "Do not now persist in carrying on this contention, but renounce the Son of the carpenter." Hormisdas, full of divine zeal, tore, in the presence of the king, the tunic which he had given him, and said to him, "If, by this present, you thought to seduce me from religion, take back your gift." The king, perceiving his fortitude, banished him, naked as he was, out of the kingdom.

The king, discovering that Suenas, a wealthy man possessed of a thousand slaves, would not consent to deny his Creator, asked him which of his slaves was the most wicked. To this very slave the king gave authority over the whole family, and desired that he should be waited on by his master. He also gave the wife of Suenas in marriage to this slave, hoping by these means to subdue the faith of this defender of the truth. But this hope was frustrated, for Suenas had built his house upon a rock.

A certain deacon, named Benjamin, was seized, and cast into prison. Two years after, a Roman ambassador arrived in Persia, who was sent upon some special embassy. He heard of the imprisonment of the deacon, and entreated the king to release him. The king consented, on condition that Benjamin would promise not to instruct any of the Magi in the Christian doctrines. The ambassador promised in his own name, that Benjamin would comply with this condition. But Benjamin, on hearing the declaration of the ambassador, exclaimed, "I cannot refrain from communicating the light which I have received. The punishment of which those are worthy who hide their talents, is declared in the holy gospel." The king, not being aware that such a reply had been made by Benjamin, commanded him to be released from captivity. After he had been set at liberty, he continued as usual to seek out those who were in the darkness of ignorance, and to lead them to the light of truth. About a year after, the king was informed of these proceedings; he sent for him, and commanded him to deny the God whom he worshipped. He asked the king what punishment would be merited by one of his subjects who should leave the kingdom, and prefer to dwell in some other region. The king having answered that he would be worthy

of death and of the greatest vengeance, this wise man said, "Of what punishment, then, is not that man worthy, who forsakes his Creator to make a god of one of his fellow-servants, and to render to him the worship which he owes to God?" The king was highly provoked at this reply, and he commanded twenty reeds to be forced up the nails of his hands and of his feet. But perceiving that he turned this punishment into ridicule, he ordered pointed reeds to be thrust into his private parts, which produced unspeakable agony. The generous defender of the faith was afterwards empaled, and in this condition he gave up his spirit. Numberless other barbarities were perpetrated by the Persians. It must not, however, be regarded as a matter of surprise, that these acts of cruelty and impiety were permitted by the Great Ruler of the universe; for, previous to the reign of the great emperor Constantine, all the Roman emperors furiously persecuted the defenders of truth. Diocletian also, on the day of the commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings, demolished all the sacred edifices which were in the Roman empire. But nine years afterwards these churches were rebuilt in a far higher style of magnificence and grandeur than before, whereas Diocletian perished in his impiety. The wars in which the church was involved, and her subsequent victory, were predicted by our Lord. It is evident that war is more profitable to us than peace; for, while the one renders us effeminate, heedless, and timid, the other inspires us with vigilance, and with contempt for the things which are passing away. But we have frequently dwelt upon these topics in other works.

CHAP. XL.—THEODORE, BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA.

DURING the time that the holy Theodotus governed the church of Antioch, Theodore,¹ bishop of Mopsuestia, the

¹ Gregory the Great (Epist. book vi. 31) says that the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret was not received by the Roman church, because he was so loud in his praises of this Theodore of Mopsuestia, and always deemed him a great doctor of the church. There is some doubt, however, whether it is Theodoret or Sozomen who is chargeable with this. Baronius thinks that the latter probably justified the accusation of Gregory in that portion of his history which is lost. It is certain, however, that if either Sozomen or Theodoret erred in their praises of Theodore, they erred in company with St. Cyril and St. John Chrysostom.

teacher of all the churches, and the opponent of all the sects of heresy, departed this life. He had been a disciple of the celebrated Diodorus, and the associate and fellow-labourer of John, bishop of Constantinople. During the space of thirty-six years he fulfilled the duties of the episcopal office, and zealously opposed the heresies of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinaris; and he led his flock to excellent pasturage. Polychronius, his brother, who to great powers of language added eminent sanctity of life, ruled the church of Apamea with wisdom and success. I shall now close my history: I ask no other reward for my labour than the prayers of my readers. This history extends over a period of one hundred and five years, namely, from the commencement of the Arian infatuation to the death of those admirable men, Theodore and Theodotus.¹ I shall add, in the order of their succession, the names of the bishops who, after the persecution, governed the principal churches.

LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF THE GREAT CITIES.

IN ROME (A. D. 311-422).

Miltiades, Silvester, Julius, Liberius, Damasis, Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent, Boniface, Zosimus, Celestine.

BISHOPS OF ANTIOCH² (A. D. 312-415).

Vitalis, Philogonius, Eustathius; these were all orthodox. The following were Arians: Eulalius, Euphronius, Flacillus, Stephen, Leontius, Eudoxius. Then succeeded the following orthodox bishops: Melitius, Flavian, Porphyry, Alexander, Theodotus; they were joined by Paulinus and Evagrius, who had belonged to the sect of Eustathius.

¹ i. e. from A. D. 323 to 427, or else from A. D. 325 to 429.

² The order which Theodoret here observes, in preferring the catalogue of Antiochian to that of Alexandrian bishops, was very natural to him as a native of those parts; and it is an incidental proof (if any be needed) of the genuineness of this appendix to the history. It may be observed that Theodoret violates the canons of the synod of Constantinople, in placing that see last in order.

IN ALEXANDRIA (A. D. 300-412).

Peter, Achillas, Alexander, Athanasius, and Gregory, who was an Arian. Re-establishment of Athanasius. Peter, a disciple of Athanasius. Lucius, an Arian. Restoration of Peter. Timothy, Theophilus, and Cyril, the nephew of Theophilus.

BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM (A. D. 314-430).

Macarius, Maximus, Cyril, John, Praylius, Juvenal.

BISHOPS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A. D. 326-425).

Alexander, Eusebius, an Arian, translated from the see of Nicomedia. To him succeeded Paul, the confessor of the faith, Macedonius, the enemy of the Holy Ghost; and, upon his expulsion, the impious Eudoxius obtained the bishopric. Demophilus, a heretic, of the city of Berœa in Thrace; Gregory of Nazianzus, Nectarius, John Chrysostom, Arsacius, Atticus, Sisinnius.

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A

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN SIX BOOKS,

FROM A. D. 431 TO A. D. 594.

BY EVAGRIUS Scholasticus.

A NEW TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK: WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THE AUTHOR AND HIS WRITINGS.

ACCOUNT

OF

THE AUTHOR AND HIS WRITINGS.

THE very few particulars which are known respecting the author of the following history, are gathered from the history itself.

Evagrius was a native of Epiphania on the Orontes, and his birth may be fixed about A. D. 536. He was by profession a Scholasticus, or advocate, and by this title he is commonly distinguished from other persons of the same name. The earliest circumstance which the historian mentions respecting himself, is his visit when a child, in company with his parents, to Apamea, to witness the solemn display of the wood of the cross, amidst the consternation caused by the sack of Antioch by Chosroes. (Book IV. chap. xxvi.) The history, in many places, shows a minute familiarity with the localities of Antioch : and the prominent interest which the writer variously manifests in that city and its fortunes, can only be accounted for by supposing that it was his ordinary residence, and the principal scene of his professional practice. In his description of the great pestilence which continued its ravages throughout the empire for more than fifty years, he mentions that he himself was attacked by the disease in his childhood, and that subsequently he lost by it his first wife, besides several relatives and members of his household, and among them in particular a daughter with her child. (Book IV. chap. xxix.)

Evagrius accompanied Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, as his professional adviser, when he appeared before a synod at Constantinople to clear himself from a charge of incest. (Book VI. chap. vii.) On his return to Antioch after the acquittal of the patriarch, he married a young wife : and a proof of the important position which he occupied, is incidentally afforded

by the circumstance that his nuptials were made an occasion for a public festival. (Book VI. chap. viii.) Some of his memorials, drawn up in the service of the patriarch, obtained for him from the emperor Tiberius the honorary rank of Exquæstor; and a composition on occasion of the birth of an heir to the emperor Maurice was rewarded with the higher dignity of Expræfect. (Book VI. chap. xxiv.) With the mention of these last circumstances the history closes.

The only extant work of Evagrius is the "Ecclesiastical History," commencing with the rise of the Nestorian controversy, and ending with the twelfth year of the reign of Maurice. He professes, at the outset, an intention of including in his narrative matters other than ecclesiastical; and this he has done so far as to give a secular appearance to some parts of it. As might be expected from an author of that period, his style is frequently affected and redundant. The modern reader will, however, be principally struck by his earnest and hearty adherence to the side of orthodoxy, and his frequent mention of prodigies and miracles. But on this latter point it must be remembered, that the bent of the age was strongly in favour of the marvellous: and to take the lowest ground, we may observe that considering the frame of the public mind in the age of Evagrius, this feature of the historian's character ought in no way to affect his reputation for honesty, or his claim to general credence. It is only a proof that he was not one of the few whose intellectual course is independent of the habits of their age. Upon the whole, the preservation of his work must be a matter of satisfaction to the studious in history, whether ecclesiastical or civil. It was used by Nicephorus Callisti in the composition of his own History, and has received a favourable notice in the Myriobiblion of the patriarch Photius.

Evagrius also published a collection of his memorials and miscellaneous compositions, which may now be regarded as lost. (Book VI. chap. xxiv.) He also intimates an intention (Book V. chap. xx.) of composing a distinct work, embracing an account of the operations of Maurice against the Persians: but there is no reason for supposing that this design was ever executed.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
EVAGRIUS.

BOOK I.

PREFACE.—DESIGN OF THE WORK.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI—an especially able writer, to the extent, in particular, of inducing his readers to embrace our religion, though failing to perfect them in the faith¹—and Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates have produced a most excellent record of the advent of our compassionate God, and His ascension into heaven, and of all that has been achieved in the endurance of the divine apostles, as well as of the other martyrs; and, further, of whatever events have occurred among us, whether more or less worthy of mention, down to a certain period of the reign of Theodosius. But since events subsequent, and scarcely inferior to these, have not hitherto been made the subject of a continuous narrative, I have resolved, though but ill-qualified for such a task, to undertake the labour which the subject demands, and to embody them in a history: surely trusting in Him who enlightened fishermen, and endued a brute tongue with articulate utterance, for ability to raise up transactions already entombed in oblivion, to reanimate them by language, and immortalize them by memory: my object being that my readers may learn the nature of each of these events, up to our time; the period, place, and manner

¹ This was the sentiment of many persons concerning Eusebius Pamphilus. For further information on this question, see Life prefixed to Euseb. Eccl. Hist. pp. xxv.—xxvii. (Bohn's edition).

of its occurrence, as well as those who were its objects and authors; and that no circumstance worthy of recollection may be lost under the veil of listless indifference, or its neighbour forgetfulness. I shall then begin, led onwards by the Divine impulse, from the point where the above-mentioned writers closed their history.

CHAP. I.—ARTIFICE BY WHICH THE DEVIL ATTEMPTS TO SUBVERT THE PURITY OF THE FAITH.

SCARCE had the impiety of Julian been flooded over by the blood of the martyrs, and the frenzy of Arius been bound fast in the fetters forged at Nicæa; and, moreover, Eunomius and Macedonius, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, had been swept as by a blast to the Bosphorus, and wrecked against the sacred city of Constantine; scarce had the holy church cast off her recent defilement, and was being restored to her ancient beauty, robed "in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours,"¹ and becoming meet for the Bridegroom, when the demon enemy of good, unable to endure it, commences against us a new mode of warfare, disdaining idolatry, now laid in the dust, nor deigning to employ the servile madness of Arius. He fears to assault the faith in open war, embattled by so many holy fathers, and he had been already shorn of nearly all his power in battling against it: but he pursues his purpose with a robber's stealth, by raising certain questions and answers; his new device being to turn the course of error towards Judaism, little foreseeing the overthrow that hence would befall the miserable designer. For the faith² which formerly was alone arrayed against him, this he now affects: and, no longer exulting in the thought of forcing us to abandon the whole, but of succeeding in corrupting a single term, while he wound himself with many a malignant wile, he devised the change of merely a letter,

¹ Psa. xlv. 9, Septuagint version.

² He means the term *Homousios* (Consubstantial); see Socrates, Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 8, 9; for the devil made his chief resistance against this word, since it was the besom, as it were, of all heresies, and the firmest fortress of the true faith. By the "one letter" is meant the change of the word *ὁμοούσιος* into *ὁμοιούσιος*, "similis substantiæ." See Socrates, book i. chap. 8.

tending indeed to the same sense, but still with the intention of severing the thought and the tongue, that both might no longer with one accord offer the same confession and glorification to God. The manner and result of these transactions I will set forth, each at its proper juncture; giving at the same time a place in my narrative to other matters that may occur to me, which, though not belonging to my immediate subject, are worthy of mention, laying up the record of them wherever it shall please our compassionate God.¹

CHAP. II. — HERESY OF NESTORIUS DISCOVERED AND CON-
DEMNED.

SINCE, then, Nestorius, that God-assaulting tongue, that second conclave of Caiaphas, that workshop of blasphemy, in whose case Christ is again made a subject of bargain and sale, by having his natures divided and torn asunder—He of whom not a single bone was broken even on the cross, according to Scripture, and whose seamless vest suffered no rending at the hands of God-slaying men—since, then, he thrust aside and rejected the term, Mother of God,² which had been already wrought by the Holy Spirit through the instrumentality of many chosen fathers, and substituted a spurious one of his own coining—Mother of Christ;³ and further filled the church with innumerable wars, deluging it with kindred blood, I think that I shall not be at a loss for a well-judged arrangement of my history, nor miss its end, if, with the aid of Christ, who is God over all, I preface it with the impious blasphemy of Nestorius. The war of the churches took its rise from the following circumstances. A certain presbyter named Anastasius, a man of corrupt opinions, and a warm admirer of Nestorius and his Jewish sentiments, who also accompanied him when setting out from his country to take possession of his bishopric; at which time Nestorius, having met with Theodore at Mopsuestia, was perverted by his teach-

¹ Valesius renders this passage, and “shall put forth my history, when it shall please the gracious God.” In this sense the word ἀποτιθέσθαι occurs below, b. i. ch. 7.

² Θεοτόκος. See Socr. Eccl. Hist. b. vii. ch. 32, and note in loco.

³ Χριστοτόκος.

ing from godly doctrine, as Theodulus¹ writes in an epistle upon this subject—this Anastasius, in discoursing to the Christ-loving people in the church of Constantinople, dared to say, without any reserve, “Let no one style Mary the Mother of God; for Mary was human, and it is impossible for God to be born of a human being.” When the Christ-loving people were disgusted, and with reason regarded his discourse as blasphemous, Nestorius, the real teacher of the blasphemy, so far from restraining him and upholding the true doctrine, on the contrary imparted to the teaching of Anastasius the impulse it acquired, by urging on the question with more than ordinary pugnacity. And further, by mingling with it notions of his own, and thus vomiting forth the venom of his soul, he endeavoured to inculcate opinions still more blasphemous, proceeding so far as thus to avouch, upon his own peril, “I could never be induced to call that God which admitted of being two months old or three months old.” These circumstances rest on the distinct authority of Socrates, and the former synod at Ephesus.

CHAP. III.—LETTER FROM CYRIL TO NESTORIUS.—COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

WHEN Cyril, the renowned bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, had communicated to Nestorius his reprobation of these transactions, and he, in rejoinder, paid no regard to what was addressed to him by Cyril, and by Celestine, bishop of the elder Rome, but was irreverently pouring forth his own vomit over the whole church, there was just occasion for the convening of the first synod of Ephesus, at the injunction of the younger Theodosius, sovereign of the Eastern empire, by the issuing of imperial letters to Cyril and the presidents of the holy churches in every quarter, naming, at the same time, as the day of meeting, the sacred Pentecost, on which the life-giving Spirit descended upon us.² Nestorius, on account of

¹ Valesius thinks that Theodulus was a presbyter in Cœle-Syria, who wrote several works in the reign of Zeno Augustus, but none of his writings are now extant.

² The term *ἡμεῖς*, “upon us,” is put for the church of God, which at the great day of Pentecost resided in the apostles. Indeed, the Holy Spirit had descended on Mary before, at such time as she conceived the

the short distance of Ephesus from Constantinople, arrives early; and Cyril too, with his company, came before the appointed day; but John, the president of the church of Antioch, with his associate bishops, was behind the appointed time; not intentionally, as his defence has been thought by many to have sufficiently proved, but because he could not muster his associates with sufficient despatch, who were at a distance of what would be a twelve days' journey to an expeditious traveller from the city formerly named from Antiochus, but now the City of God, and in some cases more; and Ephesus was then just thirty days' journey from Antioch. He stoutly defended himself on the ground, that the observance of what is called the New Lord's Day¹ by his bishops in their respective sees, was an insuperable impediment to his arriving before the stated day.

CHAP. IV.—DEPOSITION OF NESTORIUS.

WHEN fifteen days had elapsed from the prescribed period, the bishops who had assembled for this business, considering that the Orientals would not join them at all, or, at least, after a considerable delay, hold a conclave, under the presidency of the divine Cyril, occupying the post of Celestine, who, as has been before mentioned, was bishop of the elder Rome.² They

Son of God; and afterwards upon Jesus Christ, when he had been baptized in Jordan. But the Holy Spirit descended first on the day of Pentecost upon the church of God by the apostles; for the apostles delivered the same Spirit, which they then received, afterwards to their successors, by imposition of hands.

¹ The Greeks termed the first Sunday after Easter *τὴν νέαν*, or *καινὴν κυριακὴν*, "The New Sunday." So Gregory Nazianzen calls it in his nineteenth Oration, spoken at the funeral of his own father Gregory. There is extant an Oration of the same Gregory upon this New Sunday, in which he gives a reason why this day should be called New Sunday. Further, the synod in Trullo, Can. 66, terms this Sunday, which is now commonly called Dominica in Albis, (the Sunday in the Albs,) by the same name. Smith, in his Account of the Greek Church, (page 32, edit. Lond. 1680,) tells us that the Greeks still term this Sunday The New Sunday, and that it is also called *κυριακὴ διακαινήσιμος*, that is, The Sunday of Regeneration.

² Barrow remarks, in his Treat. of the Pope's Suprem. p. 289, that a word seems to have fallen out in this passage. Zonaras (on the first Can. Synod. Ephes. tom. i. edit. Bever. p. 100) expresses the meaning more plainly: "The holy Cyril, pope of Alexandria, presiding over the orthodox

accordingly summon Nestorius, with an exhortation that he would defend himself against the allegations. When, however, notwithstanding a promise given on the preceding day, that he would present himself if there were occasion, he did not appear, though thrice summoned, the assembly proceeded to the investigation of the matter. Memnon, the president of the Ephesian church, recounted the days which had elapsed, fifteen in number: then were read the letters addressed to Nestorius by the divine Cyril, and his rejoinders; there being also inserted the sacred epistle of the illustrious Celestine to Nestorius himself. Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra, and Acacius, of Melitene, also detailed the blasphemous language to which Nestorius had unreservedly given utterance at Ephesus. With these were combined many statements in which holy fathers had purely set forth the true faith, having side by side with them various blasphemies which the frenzy of the impious Nestorius had vented. When all this had been done, the holy synod declared its judgment precisely in the following terms: "Since, in addition to the other matters, the most reverend Nestorius has refused to submit to our summons, or yet to admit the most holy and godly bishops who were sent by us, we have of necessity proceeded to the investigation of his impieties: and having convicted him of

fathers, and also holding the place of Celestine." And Photius adds that Cyril supplied the seat and the person of Celestine, bishop of Rome. From this it is plain that Cyril had the disposal of Celestine's single suffrage, and that pope's legal concurrence with him in his acts in that synod. But Valesius adds that Cyril had no authoritative presidency from Celestine, because the pope could by no delegation impart that to which he had no title, warranted by any law or precedent; for the presidency depended on the will of the emperors, who disposed of it according as they saw reason. (See Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* pref. to b. v.) A notable instance of this we meet with in the next Ephesine synod, which in design was a general synod, legally convened, though by some miscarriages it proved abortive, (see below, ch. x.,) where though Julius, (or rather Julian,) the legate of Pope Leo, was present, yet by the emperor's order, (see the words of his Letter, *Syn. Chalced.* Act 1. p. 59,) Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, presided. Nicephorus, however, (book xiv. chap. 34,) tells us that Celestine, bishop of Rome, could not be present at this synod, by reason of the dangers of such a voyage, and therefore made Cyril his deputy; and that from this time Cyril and the succeeding bishops of Alexandria challenged the name of Pope. See Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* b. vii. ch. 7, where Dionysius applies the term *Papa*, or Pope, to his predecessor in that see. See note in loco (Bohn's edition)

entertaining and avowing impious sentiments, on the evidence both of his letters and writings which have been read, and also of words uttered by him lately in this metropolitan city, and established by sufficient testimony, at length, compelled by the canons, and in accordance with the epistle of our most holy father and fellow-minister, Celestine, bishop of the church of Rome, we have, with many tears, proceeded to this sad sentence. The Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, has, through the agency of this holy synod, decreed, that the same Nestorius is alien from the episcopal dignity, and from every sacerdotal assembly."

CHAP. V.—DEPOSITION OF CYRIL AND OF JOHN.—THEIR RECONCILIATION.

AFTER the delivery of this most legitimate and just sentence, John, the bishop of Antioch, arrives with his associate priests, five days after the act of deposition ; and having convened all his company, he deposes Cyril and Memnon. On account, however, of libels put forth by Cyril and Memnon to the synod which had been assembled in company with themselves, (although Socrates,¹ in ignorance, has given a different account,) John is summoned to justify the deposition which he had pronounced ; and, on his not appearing after a thrice-repeated summons, Cyril and Memnon are released from their sentence, and John and his associate priests are cut off from the holy communion and all sacerdotal authority. When, however, Theodosius, notwithstanding his refusal at first to sanction the deposition of Nestorius, had subsequently, on being fully informed of his blasphemy, addressed pious letters both to Cyril and John, they are reconciled to each other, and ratify the act of deposition.

CHAP. VI.—CYRIL'S EULOGY OF A LETTER FROM JOHN OF ANTIOCH.

ON occasion of the arrival of Paul, bishop of Emesa, at Alexandria, and his delivery before the church of that discourse which is extant on this subject, Cyril also, after highly

¹ See below, b. vii. ch. 34. .

commending the epistle of John, wrote to him in these words : " Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad, for the middle wall of partition is broken down, exasperation is stilled, and all occasion for dissension utterly removed, through the bestowal of peace upon his churches by Christ, the Saviour of us all ; at the call, too, of our most religious and divinely favoured sovereigns, who, in excellent imitation of ancestral piety, preserve in their own souls a well-founded and unshaken maintenance of the true faith, and a singular care for the holy churches, that they may acquire an everlasting renown, and render their reign most glorious. On them the Lord of hosts himself bestows blessings with a bountiful hand, and grants them victory over their adversaries. Victory He does bestow : for never can he lie who says, As I live, saith the Lord, those that glorify me, I glorify. On the arrival, then, of my most pious brother and fellow-minister, my lord Paul, at Alexandria, I was filled with delight, and with great reason, at the mediation of such a man, and his voluntary engagement in labours beyond his strength, in order that he might subdue the malice of the devil, close our breaches, and, by the removal of the stumbling-blocks that lay between us, might crown both our churches and yours with unanimity and peace." And presently he proceeds thus : " That the dissension of the church has been altogether unnecessary, and without sufficient ground, I am fully convinced, now that my lord the most pious bishop Paul has brought a paper presenting an unexceptionable confession of the faith, and has assured me that it was drawn up by your Holiness and the most pious bishops of your country." And such is the writing thus drawn up, and inserted verbatim in the epistle ; which, with reference to the Mother of God, speaks as follows : " When we read these your sacred words, and were conscious that our own sentiments were correspondent—for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism—we glorified God, the Preserver of all things, with a feeling of mutual joy, that both your churches and ours maintain a faith in agreement with the divinely inspired Scriptures and the tradition of our holy fathers." Of these matters any one may be assured, who is disposed to investigate diligently the transactions of those times.

CHAP. VII.—DEATH OF NESTORIUS.

HISTORIANS have not detailed either the banishment of Nestorius, his subsequent fortunes, or the manner in which his life was closed, and the retribution with which he was visited for his blasphemy ; matters which would have been allowed to slip into oblivion, and have been altogether swallowed up by time, so as not to be current even in hearsay, if I had not met with a book written by himself, which supplied an account of them. Nestorius, then, himself, the father of the blasphemy, who raised his structure not on the foundation already laid, but built upon the sand one which, in accordance with the Lord's parable, quickly fell to ruin, here, in addition to other matters of his choice, puts forth a defence of his own blasphemy, in reply to those who had charged him with unnecessary innovation, and an unseemly demand for the convening of the synod at Ephesus. He asserts that he was driven to assume this position by absolute necessity, on account of the division of the church into two parties, one maintaining that Mary ought to be styled Mother of Man ;¹ the other, Mother of God ; and he devised the title Mother of Christ, in order, as he says, that error might not be incurred by adopting either extreme, either a term which too closely united immortal essence with humanity, or one which, while admitting one of the two natures, involved no mention of the other.² He also intimates that Theodosius, from feelings of friendship, withheld his ratification of the sentence of deposition ; and afterwards, that, on occasion of the mission of several bishops of both parties from Ephesus to the emperor, and, moreover, at his own request, he was allowed to retire to his own monastery, situated without the gates of the city now called Theopolis.

¹ ἀνθρωποτόκος. See above, chap. ii.

² The meaning of this passage is very obscure ; perhaps it may be explained thus. After that sermon of Anastasius the presbyter, (see above, chap. 2,) there arose a great dissension in the Constantinopolitan church ; some affirming that Mary was to be termed Theotocos ; others, Anthropotocos. And when the sedition increased daily, Nestorius, desirous to appease it, invented a certain middle term ; viz. that Mary should in future be termed Christotocos, the Virgin who bore Christ : lest, if he should term her Theotocos, he might seem to join things mortal with those that are immortal, which he looked upon as impious ; or lest, if he had embraced the term Anthropotocos, the party who defended the term Theotocos should revolt from him, and hold their assemblies apart.

It is not, indeed, expressly named by Nestorius, but is said to be that which is now styled the monastery of Euprepus; which we know to be, in fact, not more than two stadia from that city. Nestorius, then, himself says, that during a residence there of four years, he received every mark of respect and distinction; and that, by a second edict of Theodosius, he is banished to the place called Oasis. But the pith of the matter he has suppressed. For in his retirement he did not cease from his peculiar blasphemy; so that John, the president of the church of Antioch, was led to report the circumstance, and Nestorius was, in consequence, condemned to perpetual banishment. He has addressed also a formal¹ discourse to a certain Egyptian, on the subject of his banishment to Oasis, where he treats of these circumstances more fully. But the retribution with which, unable to escape the all-seeing eye, he was visited for his blasphemous imaginations, may be gathered from other writings addressed by him to the governor of the Thebaid: in which one may see how that, since he had not yet reached the full measure of his deserts, the vengeance of God visited him, in pursuance, with the most terrible of all calamities, captivity. Being, then, still deserving of great penalties, he was liberated by the Blemmyes, into whose hands he had fallen; and, after Theodosius had decreed his return to his place of exile, wandering from place to place on the verge of the Thebaid, and severely injured by a fall, he closed his life in a manner worthy of his deeds: whose fate, like that of Arius, was a judicial declaration, what are the appointed wages of blasphemy against Christ: for both committed similar blasphemy against him; the one by calling him a creature; the other, regarding him as human. When Nestorius impugns the integrity of the acts of the council of Ephesus, and refers them to subtle designs and lawless innovation on the part of Cyril, I should be most ready thus to reply:—How came it to pass, that he was banished even by Theodosius, notwithstanding his friendly feelings towards him, and was condemned by re-

¹ *διαλεκτικῶς*. Musculus renders this word "more dialectico," in a logical manner. And Christopherson translates it "acutè et subtiliter." But what need was there of acuteness and logical subtilty in a little book, in which Nestorius merely treated of his own banishment into the Oasis? Perhaps Valerius is correct in supposing that it means "in the manner of a dialogue."

peated sentences of extermination, and closed this life under those unhappy circumstances? If Cyril and his associate priests were not guided by Heaven in their judgment, how came it to pass that, when both parties were no longer numbered with the living, in which case a heathen sage¹ has observed, "A frank and kindly meed is yielded to departed worth," the one is reprobated as a blasphemer and enemy of God, the other is lauded and proclaimed to the world as the sonorous herald and mighty champion of true doctrine? In order that I may not incur a charge of slander, let me bring Nestorius himself into court as an evidence on these points. Read me then, word for word, some passages of thy epistle, addressed to the governor of the Thebaid:—"On account of the matters which have been lately mooted at Ephesus concerning our holy religion, Oasis, further called Ibis, has been appointed as the place of my residence by an imperial decree." And presently he proceeds thus: "Inasmuch as the before-mentioned place has fallen into the hands of the barbarians, and been reduced to utter desolation by fire and sword, and I, by a most unexpected act of compassion, have been liberated by them, with a menacing injunction instantly to fly from the spot, since the Mazices were upon the point of succeeding them in their occupation of it; I have, accordingly, reached the Thebaid, together with the captive survivors whom they had joined with me, by an act of pity for which I am unable to account. They, accordingly, have been allowed to disperse themselves to the places whither their individual inclinations led them, and I, proceeding to Panopolis, have showed myself in public, for fear lest any one, making the circumstance of my seizure an occasion of criminal proceeding, should raise a charge against me, either of escaping from my place of exile, or some other imagined delinquency: for malice never wants occasion for slander. Therefore I entreat your Highness to take that just view of my seizure which the laws would enjoin, and not sacrifice a prisoner of war to the malice and evil designs of men; lest there should hence arise this melancholy story with all posterity, that it is better to be made captive by barbarians, than to fly for refuge to the protection of the Roman sovereignty." He then prefers, with solemn adjuration, the following request:

¹ Namely, Pericles, in his funeral oration recorded by Thucydides, b. ii. c. 45.

"I request you to lay before the emperor the circumstance, that my arrival hither from Oasis arose from my liberation by the barbarians ; so that my final disposal, according to God's good pleasure, may now be determined." The second epistle, from the same to the same, contains as follows : "Whether you are disposed to regard this present letter as a friendly communication from me to your Highness, or as an admonition from a father to a son, I beseech you bear with its detail, embracing, indeed, many matters, but as briefly as the case would allow. When Ibis had been devastated by a numerous body of Nomades,"¹ and so forth. "Under these circumstances, by what motive or pretext on the part of your Highness I know not, I was conducted by barbarous soldiers from Panopolis to Elephantine, a place on the verge of the province of the Thebaid, being dragged thither by the aforesaid military force ; and when, sorely shattered, I had accomplished the greater part of the journey, I am encountered by an unwritten order from your valour to return to Panopolis. Thus, miserably worn with the casualties of the road, with a body afflicted by disease and age, and a mangled hand and side, I arrived at Panopolis in extreme exhaustion, and further tormented with cruel pains : whence a second written injunction from your valour, speedily overtaking me, transported me to its adjacent territory. While I was supposing that this treatment would now cease, and was awaiting the determination of our glorious sovereigns respecting me, another merciless order was suddenly issued for a fourth deportation." And presently he proceeds : "But I pray you to rest satisfied with what has been done, and with having inflicted so many banishments on one individual. And I call upon you kindly to leave to our glorious sovereigns the inquisition,² for which reports laid before them by your Highness, and by myself too, by whom it was proper that information should

¹ In that letter of Nestorius mentioned before, the people who ruined Oâsis are termed Blemmyæ. The term Nomades therefore ought here to be taken for an adjective, or at all events in a wider sense, as including several distinct tribes. Thus the Nubæ, neighbours to the Blemmyæ, who made frequent incursions into the country of Oasis, were termed Nomades also, or Numides. Somewhat analogous is the use of the term *Σκύθαι* in Herodotus.

² Presidents of provinces were wont to give the emperor an account of all things which happened with them. The doing of this was termed *ἀναφέρειν*, and the relation itself *ἀναφορά*.

given, would furnish materials. If, however, this should excite your indignation, continue to deal with me as before, according to your pleasure ; since no words can prevail over your will." Thus does this man, who had not learned moderation even by his sufferings, in his writings strike and trample with fist and heel, even reviling both the supreme and provincial governments. I learn from one who wrote an account of his demise, that, when his tongue had been eaten through with worms, he departed to the greater and everlasting judgment which awaited him.

CHAP. VIII.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

NEXT in succession to that malignant spirit Nestorius, Maximianus is invested with the bishopric of the city of the renowned Constantine, in whose time the church of God enjoyed perfect peace : and when he was departed from among men, Proclus holds the helm of the see, who had some time before been ordained bishop of Cyzicus. When he too had gone the way of all mankind, Flavian succeeds to the see.

CHAP. IX.—HERESY OF EUTYCHES.

IN his time arose the stir about the impious Eutyches, when a partial synod was assembled at Constantinople, and a written charge was preferred by Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, who, while still practising as a rhetorician, was the first to expose the blasphemy of Nestorius. Since Eutyches, when summoned, did not appear, and afterwards, even on his appearance, was convicted on certain points ; for he had said, "I allow that our Lord was produced from two natures before their union, but I confess only one nature after their union ;" and he even maintained that our Lord's body was not of the same substance with ourselves—on these grounds he is sentenced to deprivation ; but on his presenting a petition to Theodosius, on the plea that the acts, as set forth, had been concocted in the hands of Flavian, the synod of the neighbouring region is assembled at Constantinople, and Flavian is tried by it and some of the magistrates :¹ and when the truth

¹ Christopherson wrongly refers these words to the ecclesiastical rulers,

of the acts had been confirmed, the second synod at Ephesus is summoned.

CHAP. X.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHEBUS.

OF this council, Dioscorus, the successor of Cyril in the see of Alexandria, was appointed president, by an intrigue, in enmity to Flavian, of Chrysaphius, who at that time swayed the imperial court.¹ There hasten to Ephesus Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the former council, with a great number of associate priests, and with him also Domnus, the successor of John at Antioch: and besides them, Julius,² a bishop, who was the representative of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome. Flavian also was present with his associate bishops, an edict having been addressed by Theodosius to Elpidius, in these precise terms: "Provided that those who had on the former occasion passed judgment on the most religious Archimandrite Eutyches, be present, but take no part in the proceedings, by abstaining from the functions of judges, and awaiting the resolution of all the most holy fathers; inasmuch as their own previous decision is now a subject of inquiry." In this council, the deposition of Eutyches is revoked by Dioscorus and his associates—as is contained in the acts—and that sentence is passed upon Flavian, and Eusebius, president of the church of Dorylæum. At the same time, Ibas, bishop of Edessa, is excommunicated; and Daniel,³ bishop of

and understands by them the prelates of churches. Nicephorus, however, (book xiv. chap. 47,) has rightly explained these words.

¹ In the margin of the Florentine manuscript, a Scholium remarks concerning the "impious" Chrysaphius, that the eunuchs of the bed-chamber have always done mischief to the orthodox archbishops. We have an eminent instance of this fact in Eusebius, chief eunuch of the bed-chamber, who in the reign of Constantius persecuted Athanasius and the other Catholic prelates. *Vales*

² The Acts of the Second Ephesine Synod state, that a synod being convened in the metropolis, Ephesus, by the command of the most religious and most Christian emperors, the most reverend and most holy bishops, Dioscorus of Alexandria, and Bishop Julian, (who was the deputy of the most holy and most blessed Leo, bishop of the Roman church,) sat in the holy church which is called St. Mary's. Baronius, A. D. 449, relates that this Julian was bishop of Puteoli. It would seem from a subsequent passage of Baronius, (A. D. 451,) that he was afterwards bishop of Coe.

³ A little before the second Ephesine synod, Ibas, bishop of Edessa,

Carrhæ, Irenæus¹ of Tyre, and Aquilinus of Byblus, are deposed. Some measures were also taken on account of Sophronius, bishop of Constantina:² and they depose Theodoret,³ bishop of Cyrus, and even Domnus⁴ of Antioch. What afterwards befell the last mentioned, I am not able to discover. After these proceedings the second council of Ephesus was dissolved.

CHAP. XI.—AN APOLOGY FOR DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AMONG CHRISTIANS.

AND here let not any one of the deluded worshippers of idols presume to sneer, as if it were the business of succeeding councils to depose their predecessors, and to be ever devising some addition to the faith. For while we are endeavouring to trace the unutterable and unsearchable scheme of God's mercy to man, and to revere and exalt it to the utmost, our opinions are swayed in this or that direction: and with none of those who have been the authors of heresies among Christians, was blasphemy in the first intention;⁵ nor did they fall from the truth in a desire to dishonour the Deity, but rather from an idea which each entertained, that he should improve upon his predecessors by upholding such and such doctrines. Besides, all parties agree in a confession which embraces the essential points; for a Trinity is the single object of our worship, and

and Daniel, bishop of Carræ, had been accused before the emperor Theodosius by their own clergy. The emperor gave order that cognizance of their cause should be taken in a synod at Berytus, in the presence of Damascius, tribune and prætorian notary.

¹ Long before the second Ephesine synod, Irenæus had been driven from his bishopric, by an edict of the emperor Theodosius, and Photius had been put into his see. It is certain that Photius presided at the synod of Berytus, which had been convened in the year before the second Ephesine synod. But because Irenæus had been ejected only by the emperor's order, and not by the determination of a synod, therefore he was formally deposed in the second Ephesine synod. *Vales.*

² A city of Phœnicia.

³ This was the author of the five books of Ecclesiastical History.

⁴ In the place of Domnus, bishop of Antioch, Maximus was appointed, and was afterwards confirmed in his bishopric by Pope Leo. Maximus, however, appointed Domnus, as long as he lived, a certain allowance out of the revenue of his church, that, being content with his maintenance, he might in future be quiet.

⁵ Πρωτοτύπως, "originally," or "primarily."

unity the complex one of our glorification, and the Word, who is God begotten before the worlds, and became flesh by a second birth in mercy to the creature: and if new opinions have been broached on other points, these also have arisen from the freedom granted to our will by our Saviour God, even on these subjects, in order that the holy catholic and apostolic church might be the more exercised in bringing opposing opinions into captivity to truth and piety, and arrive, at length, at one smooth and straight path. Accordingly the apostle says most distinctly, "There is need of heresies among you, that the approved ones may be manifested."¹ And here also we have occasion to admire the unutterable wisdom of God, who said to the divine Paul, "My strength is made perfect in weakness."² For by the very causes by which the members of the church have been broken off, the true and pure doctrine has been more accurately established, and the catholic and apostolic church of God has attained amplification and exaltation to heaven. But those who have been nurtured in Grecian error, having no desire to extol God or his tender care of men, were continually endeavouring to shake the opinions of their predecessors, and of each other, rather devising gods upon gods, and assigning to them by express titles the tutelage of their own passions, in order that they might find an excuse for their own debaucheries by associating such deities with them. Thus, their supreme father of gods and men, under the form of a bird, shamelessly carried off the Phrygian boy;³ and as a reward of his vile service, bestowed the cup, with leave to pledge him in an amorous draught, that they might with the nectar drink in their common shame. Besides innumerable other villanies, reprobated by the meanest of mankind, and transformations into every form of brutes, himself the most brutish of all, he becomes bi-sexual, pregnant, if not in his belly yet in his thigh,⁴ that even this

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 19.

² 2 Cor. xii. 9.

³ Allusion is intended to the story told concerning Ganymede, son of Tros, king of Troas. Jupiter, having turned himself into an eagle, snatched up the youth to the skies, and admitted him his cupbearer in the room of Hebe, whom he had displaced.

⁴ Semele being great with child by Jupiter, the god swore that he would give her whatever she should ask of him. By a plot of Juno she was induced to request, that he would lie one night with her in the same manner he used to lie with Juno. The god granted her desire, and Semele was

violation of nature might be fulfilled in his person ; whence springing, the bi-sexual dithyrambic birth outraged either sex ; author of drunkenness, surfeit, and mad debauch, and all their fearful consequences. To this *Ægis-wearer*,¹ this Thunderer, they attach, in spite of these majestic titles, the crime of parricide, universally regarded as the extremity of guilt ; inasmuch as he dethroned Saturn who unhappily had begotten him. Why need I also mention their consecration of fornication, over which they made Venus to preside, the shell-born Cyprian, who abhorred chastity as an unhallowed and monstrous thing, but delighted in fornication and all filthiness, and willed to be propitiated by them : in whose company Mars also suffers unseemly exposure, being, by the contrivance of Vulcan, made a spectacle and laughing-stock to the gods ? Justly would one ridicule their phalli and ithyphalli, and phallagogia ; their Priapus, and Pan, and the Eleusinian mysteries, which in one respect deserve praise, namely, that the sun was not allowed to see them, but they were condemned to dwell with darkness. Leaving, then, the worshippers and the worshipped in their shame, let us urge our steed to the goal, and set forth, in compendious survey, the remaining transactions of the reign of Theodosius.

CHAP. XII.—CONDEMNATION OF THE NESTORIAN DOCTRINE
BY THEODOSIUS.

THEODOSIUS, then, issued a most pious constitution, which is included in the first book of what is termed the Code of Justinian, and is the third under the first title ; in which, moved by heaven, he condemned, by all the votes, as the saying is, him to whom he had been long attached, as Nestorius himself writes, and placed him under anathema. The precise terms are as follow : “ Further we ordain, that those who favour the impious creed of Nestorius, or follow his unlawful

burnt up with thunder ; but the boy was taken out of her womb and put into Jove’s thigh, whence he was delivered in due time. On which account Bacchus (who was the child thus brought forth) had the name of Bimater, one that had two mothers. See Ovid.

¹ This is an epithet given to Jupiter, either because he wore the sacred ægis, (that is, breastplate,) or because he was the raiser of storms, or perhaps because he wore the skin of the goat Amalthæa, which had been his nurse. See Servius on Virgil, *Æneid* viii.

doctrine, be ejected from the holy churches, if they be bishops or clerks; and if laics, be anathematized." Other enactments were also promulgated by him relating to our religion, which show his burning zeal.

CHAP. XIII.—SIMEON THE STYLITE.¹

IN these times flourished and became illustrious Simeon, of holy and famous memory, who originated the contrivance of stationing himself on the top of a column, thereby occupying a spot of scarce two cubits in circumference. Domnus was then bishop of Antioch; and he, having visited Simeon, and being struck with the singularity of his position and mode of life, was desirous of more mystic intercourse. They met accordingly, and having consecrated the immaculate body,² imparted to each other the life-giving communion. This man, endeavouring to realize in the flesh the existence of the heavenly hosts, lifts himself above the concerns of earth, and, overpowering the downward tendency of man's nature, is intent upon things above: placed between earth and heaven, he holds communion with God, and unites with the angels in praising him; from earth, offering his intercessions on behalf of men, and from heaven, drawing down upon them the Divine favour. An account of his miracles has been written by one of those who were eye-witnesses, and an eloquent record by

¹ That is, "who dwelt upon a pillar."

² In early times the presbyters celebrated the church service together with the bishop, and received the holy eucharist from his hand. So in the tenth action of the council of Chalcedon, Bassianus, bishop of Ephesus, in his supplicatory libel to Marcianus the emperor, amongst other things, says, "Having on the day after all of us performed the public service together," &c. The same Bassianus writes elsewhere, "Stephanus my presbyter was with me four years; he performed the public service with me, communicated with me, and received the communion from me, as from his bishop." The same usage also was anciently practised in the Roman church, namely, that the presbyters should every day celebrate the public service together with the bishop of Rome, and receive the communion from his hand. But on Sundays, when the presbyters were necessitated to perform the public service apart in their own parishes or cures, on account of the people committed to their charge, they received the Lord's body sent by the Acolytes from the bishop of Rome, that they might not seem to be separated from the communion of their own bishop, especially on that day, as Pope Innocent informs us in his epistle to Decentius.

Theodoret,¹ bishop of Cyrus: though they have omitted a circumstance in particular, the memory of which I found to be still retained by the inhabitants of the holy desert, and which I learnt from them as follows. When Simeon, that angel upon earth, that citizen in the flesh of the heavenly Jerusalem, had devised this strange and hitherto unknown walk, the inhabitants of the holy desert send a person to him, charged with an injunction to render a reason of this singular habitude, namely, why, abandoning the beaten path which the saints had trodden, he is pursuing another altogether unknown to mankind; and, further, that he should come down and travel the road of the elect fathers. They, at the same time, gave orders, that, if he should manifest a perfect readiness to come down, liberty should be given him to follow out the course he had chosen, inasmuch as his compliance would be sufficient proof that under God's guidance he persevered in this his endurance: but that he should be dragged down by force, in case he should manifest repugnance, or be swayed by self-will, and refuse to be guided implicitly by the injunction. When the person, thus deputed, came and announced the command of the fathers, and Simeon, in pursuance of the injunction, immediately put one foot forward, then he declared him free to fulfil his own course, saying, "Be stout, and play the man: the post which thou hast chosen is from God." This circumstance, which is omitted by those who have written about him, I have thus thought worthy of record. In so great a measure had the power of divine grace taken possession of him, that, when Theodosius had issued a mandate, that the synagogues of which they had been previously deprived by the Christians, should be restored to the Jews of Antioch, he wrote to the emperor with so much freedom and vehement rebuke, as standing in awe of none but his own immediate Sovereign, that Theodosius re-called his commands, and in every respect favoured the Christians, even superseding the prefect who had suggested the measure. He further proceeded to prefer a request to this effect, to the holy and aërial martyr,² that

¹ In his history termed Philotheus, which is devoted to an account of celebrated monastics.

² These seem to be the words of the emperor Theodosius, taken out of the letter he wrote to the blessed Simeon. The emperor therefore had prefixed this title to his letter, τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀερίῳ μάρτυρι, "To [EVAGRIUS.]

he would entreat and pray for him, and impart a share of his own peculiar benediction. Simeon prolonged his endurance of this mode of life through fifty-six years, nine of which he spent in the first monastery, where he was instructed in divine knowledge, and forty-seven in the Mandra,¹ as it is termed; namely, ten in a certain nook; on shorter columns, seven; and thirty upon one of forty cubits. After his departure, his holy body was conveyed to Antioch, during the episcopate of Martyrius, and the reign of the emperor Leo, when Ardabyrus was in command of the forces of the East, on which occasion the troops, with a concourse of their followers and others, proceeded to the Mandra, and escorted the venerable body of the blessed Simeon, lest the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities should muster and carry it off. In this manner it was conveyed to Antioch, and attended during its progress by extraordinary prodigies. The emperor also demanded possession of the body; and the people of Antioch addressed to him a petition in deprecation of his purpose, in these terms: "Forasmuch as our city is without walls, for we have been visited in wrath by their fall, we brought hither the sacred body to be our wall and bulwark." Moved by these considerations, the emperor yielded to their prayer, and left them in possession of the venerable body. It has been preserved nearly entire to my time: and, in company with many priests, I enjoyed the sight of his sacred head, in the episcopate of the famous Gregory, when Philippicus had requested that precious relics of saints might be sent to him for the protection of the Eastern armies. And, strange as is the circumstance, the hair of his head had not perished, but is in the same state of preservation as when he was alive and sojourning with mankind. The skin of his forehead, too, was wrinkled and indurated, but is nevertheless preserved, as well as the greater part of his teeth, except such as had been violently removed by the hands of faithful men, affording by their outward form an indication of the personal appearance and years of the man of God. Beside the head lies the iron collar, to which, as the companion of its endurance, the famous body has im-

the most holy and aerial martyr," where he terms him martyr, on account of those great severities with which he afflicted his own body; and he styles him aerial, because he stood on high in the air on a pillar

¹ See note on the following chapter.

parted a share of its own divinely-bestowed honours; for not even in death has Simeon been deserted by the loving iron. In this manner would I have detailed every particular, thereby benefiting both myself and my readers, had not Theodoret, as I said before, already performed the task more fully.

CHAP. XIV.—DESCRIPTION OF THE APPEARANCE OF A STAR
NEAR THE COLUMN OF SIMEON.

LET me, however, add a record of another circumstance which I witnessed. I was desirous of visiting the precinct of this saint, distant nearly thirty stadia from Theopolis, and situated near the very summit of the mountain. The people of the country give it the title of Mandra,¹ a name bequeathed to the spot, as I suppose, by the holy Simeon, in respect of the discipline which he there had practised. The ascent of the mountain is as much as twenty stadia. The temple is constructed in the form of a cross, adorned with colonnades on the four sides. Opposite the colonnades are arranged² handsome columns of polished stone, sustaining a roof of considerable elevation; while the centre³ is occupied by an un-

¹ It would seem to be a more probable conjecture, that this name was given to that place after Simeon's death, when many monks flocked thither, and had built a monastery there. Mandra signifies a monastery; and the word is a metaphor taken from hovels in which sheep or goats are fed, which were called Mandræ. Hence the abbots of monasteries were termed Archi-mandritæ, as may be seen in the Chalcedon council, and in the Novels of the Emperors, passim.

² *παρὰτεράχαι*, not "joined on to," but "ranged opposite." Evagrius makes use of the same word in book iv. chap. 31, where he describes the church of St. Sophia.

³ Evagrius does not say, as Christopherson understood him to mean, that there was an open court towards the middle of the church, but in the midst of these porticos; for courts were usually encompassed with porticos. Christopherson was deceived by what Evagrius has said a little before, namely, that the church was surrounded with porticos on four sides, and hence he thought that the church was in the midst of them; but he is mistaken, for the atrium or court was in the midst of those four porticos, and was the first thing which those who went in saw, after they had passed the porch or entry. After the atrium was the church, contiguous to one of the porticos. That this was the figure of this church, is sufficiently clear from the context; for Evagrius says, that women were forbidden to go into that church; but notwithstanding that they saw the miracle of the star, from the gate which was in the porch. The atrium

roofed court of the most excellent workmanship, where stands the pillar, of forty cubits, on which the incarnate angel upon earth spent his heavenly life. Adjoining the roof of the colonnades is a balustrade, termed by some persons windows, forming a fence towards both the before-mentioned court and the colonnades. At the balustrade, on the left of the pillar, I saw, in company with all the people who were there assembled, while the rustics were performing dances round it, a very large and brilliant star, shooting along the whole balustrade, not merely once, twice, or thrice, but repeatedly; vanishing, moreover, frequently, and again suddenly appearing: and this occurs only at the commemorations of the saint. There are also persons who affirm—and there is no reason to doubt the prodigy, considering the credibility of the vouchers, and the other circumstances which I actually witnessed,—that they have seen a resemblance of the saint's face flitting about here and there, with a long beard, and wearing a tiara,¹ as was his habit. Free ingress is allowed to men, who repeatedly compass the pillar with their beasts of burden: but the most scrupulous precaution is taken, for what reason I am unable to say, that no woman should enter the sacred building; but they obtain a view of the prodigy from the threshold without, since one of the doors is opposite to the star's rays.

CHAP. XV.—ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM AND SYNESIUS OF CYRENE.

IN the same reign Isidore was also conspicuous: "wide whose renown,"² according to the language of poetry; having become universally celebrated by deed and word. To such a degree did he waste his flesh by severe discipline, and feed his soul by elevating doctrine, as to pursue upon earth the life of angels, and be ever a living monument of monastic life and contemplation of God. Besides his numerous other writings, well stored with various profit, there are some addressed to the renowned Cyril; from which it appears that he flourished

therefore occurred immediately after the porch, and the church was not in the midst, for otherwise the walls of the church itself would have hindered them from seeing the star. *Vales*

¹ A round ornament, worn by princes and priests on their heads. It was formerly the dress of the Persian women.

² He alludes to the Homeric expression, Οὐ κλέος εἶναι.

contemporary with the divine bishop. And now, while endeavouring to give every attraction to my work, let me also bring upon the scene Synesius of Cyrene, whose memory will add an embellishment to my narrative. This Synesius, while possessed of every other kind of learning, carried the study of philosophy, in particular, to its highest pitch; so as to gain the admiration even of those Christians whose decision upon things which fall under their observation is not guided by favouring or adverse prejudice. They, accordingly, persuade him to resolve on partaking of the saving regeneration,¹ and to take upon himself the yoke of the priesthood, while as yet he did not admit the doctrine of the resurrection,² nor was inclined to hold that tenet; anticipating, with well-aimed conjecture, that this belief would be added to his other excellencies, since Divine grace is never content to leave its work

¹ That is, "to be admitted to baptism." As far as may be collected from these and the following words, Evagrius seems to have thought that Synesius was baptized and promoted to the episcopal dignity at one and the same time. And yet, that this is false, Petavius proves by many arguments, in his Notes upon Synesius, pp. 2, 3. Evagrius, however, is followed in the main by Photius in his Bibliotheca, and by Nicephorus, book xiv. chap. 55, although the latter says not that Synesius had been baptized and ordained at one and the same time, but that when Theophilus had prevailed with him to receive Christian baptism, afterwards he endeavoured to persuade him to enter upon the episcopal function.

² It has been thought, that when Synesius was elected bishop by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, he wholly disbelieved the resurrection of the body. But that this is not true, Synesius himself shows in his 105th epistle, which he wrote to his brother Euoptius, who was then at Alexandria. In that letter he gives reasons why he could not undertake the bishopric offered to him. One of which is, The resurrection of bodies. His sentiment concerning which point he declares in these words: *τὴν καθωμιλημένην ἀνάστασιν ἱερὸν τι καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἡγήμαι, καὶ πολλοῦ δέω ταῖς τοῦ πλήθους ὑπολήψεσιν ὁμολογῆσαι*, "That much-spoken-of resurrection I account a sacred and mystical thing, and am far from assenting to the opinions of the vulgar." Synesius therefore did not wholly deny the resurrection of the dead, but expounded it agreeably to Origen and the Platonic school. Baronius (at the year of Christ 410) thinks that whatever is said by Synesius in this epistle, is not spoken seriously, but feignedly and dissemblingly, that he might decline the burden of a bishopric. But Petavius has deservedly found fault with this opinion of Baronius; for he says, that it is much more likely that Synesius, when he wrote thus to his brother, spoke agreeably to what he then thought, but that having been afterwards instructed by Theophilus and other prelates, before he was made a bishop, he embraced a true opinion concerning the resurrection. *Vales.*

unfinished. Nor were they disappointed in their expectation: for his epistles, written after his accession to the priesthood, and composed with elegance and learning, as well as his discourse¹ addressed to Theodosius himself, and whatever is extant of his valuable writings, sufficiently show how excellent and great a man he was.

CHAP. XVI.—TRANSLATION OF THE REMAINS OF IGNATIUS.

At the same period also took place the translation of the divine Ignatius, as is recorded, with other matters, by John the rhetorician:² who having found a tomb, as he himself desired, in the bowels of the wild beasts, in the amphitheatre of Rome, had, nevertheless, through the preservation of the more solid bones, which were conveyed to Antioch, long reposed in what is called the cemetery:³ the good God having moved Theodosius to dignify the bearer of the name Theophorus⁴ with increased honours, and to dedicate a temple, long ago devoted to the de-

¹ He means the *Oratio de Regno*. This, however, was not spoken to Theodosius junior, but to Arcadius, A. D. 400, that is, ten years before Synesius had undertaken the bishopric.

² Evagrius frequently quotes the History of this Johannes the Rhetorician in his following books. For instance, in b. ii. chap. 12, b. iii. chap. 10, and 28, and b. iv. chap. 5. But he is a different person from another person of the same name, of whom Evagrius makes mention at the close of the last chapter of his fifth book, terming him his fellow-citizen and kinsman.

³ Nicephorus thought that the relics of Ignatius were brought from Rome to Constantinople in the times of Theodosius junior, and having been carried to Antioch by the same emperor's order, had been deposited there in the cemetery. For long before the reign of Theodosius junior the relics of the martyr Ignatius had been deposited in the cemetery of the city Antioch, as St. Jerome expressly attests in his book de Scriptor. Ecclesiast., where these are his words concerning Ignatius "Reliquie corporis ejus Antiochiæ jacent extra portam Daphniticam in Cœmeterio." Theodosius junior therefore did not translate the relics of Ignatius from Rome to Constantinople, and after that to Antioch; but he ordered them to be removed out of the cemetery which was without the city Antioch, and carried into the city.

⁴ *Τὸν Θεοφόρον*. This seems to have been the surname of the blessed Ignatius. Which is concluded from hence, because we read this title prefixed before all his epistles, *Ἰγνατίος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος*, Ignatius, who also [is termed] Theophorus. In the martyrdom of the blessed Ignatius, which Usher has set forth, Ignatius styles himself Theophorus in the presence of the emperor Trajan. And being asked who Theophorus was, he answers, He who bears Christ in his breast. See Socrat. Eccles. Histor. b. vi. chap. 8.

mons, and called by the inhabitants Tychæum,¹ to the victorious martyr. Thus, what was formerly the shrine of Fortune, became a sanctuary and holy precinct for Ignatius, by depositing there his sacred remains, which were conveyed on a car through the city, attended by a solemn procession. From this event arose the celebration of a public festival, accompanied with rejoicings of the whole population ; which has continued to our times, and received increased magnificence at the hands of the prelate Gregory. Such results were brought about by the conspiring agency of friends and foes, while God was decreeing honour to the holy memories of the saints. For the impious Julian, that heaven-detested power, when the Daphnæan Apollo, whose prophetic voice proceeded from the Castalian² fount, could give no response to the emperor's consultation, since the holy Babylas,³ from his neighbouring resting-place, restrained his utterance ; was goaded on to be an unwilling instrument in honouring that saint by a translation ; on which occasion was also erected to him, outside the city, a spacious temple, which has remained entire to the present day : the object of the removal being that the demons might no longer be overawed in the pursuit of their own practices, the performance of which, as is said, they had previously promised to Julian. Thus were events disposed by the providence of God, in his design that both the power of those who were dignified by martyrdom should be clearly manifested, and the sacred relics of the holy martyr should be transferred to sacred ground, and be honoured with a noble precinct.

¹ The heathens attributed to all cities their Genii, to whom they built temples, which in Greek were termed *τυχαῖα*, or *τυχεῖα*. See Eusebius Pamphilus concerning the martyrs of Palestine, chap. 11. The temple of the public Genius of the city of Antioch, which Julian in his *Misopog.* terms *τὸ τῆς τύχης ἱερόν*, is mentioned by Amm. Marcellinus, b. xxiii. p. 238.

² He means the Castalian fountain, concerning which Gregory Nazianzen in his second *Invective* against Julian, (tom. i. p. 127, edit. Paris, 1609,) thus speaks, "Castalia has been silenced again, and is silent, and it is water, not uttering oracles, but exciting laughter. Apollo is become a dumb statue again. Daphne is a tree again," &c. Upon this passage the Scholiast remarks, that "Castalia was a fountain in Antioch, at which Apollo was by the ancients reported to sit, and to give forth oracles at the water. And when any persons came thither on account of consulting the oracle, the water (as it is reported) sent forth gentle blasts and puffs of wind ; and then the priests, who were about the fountain, declared those things which the will of the demon had brought forth."

³ Comp. Socrat. *Eccl. Hist.* b. iii. ch. 18.

CHAP. XVII.—ATTILA KING OF THE HUNS.—EARTHQUAKES.

DURING those times arose the celebrated war of Attila, king of the Scythians: the history of which has been written with great care and distinguished ability by Priscus the rhetorician, who details, in a very elegant narrative, his attacks on the eastern and western parts of the empire, how many and important cities he reduced, and the series of his achievements until he was removed from the world.

It was also in the reign of Theodosius that an extraordinary earthquake occurred, which threw all former ones into the shade, and extended, so to speak, over the whole world. Such was its violence, that many of the towers in different parts of the imperial city were overthrown, and the long wall, as it is termed, of the Chersonese, was laid in ruins; the earth opened and swallowed up many villages; and innumerable other calamities happened both by land and sea. Several fountains became dry, and, on the other hand, large bodies of water were formed on the surface, where none existed before: entire trees were torn up by the roots and hurled aloft, and mountains were suddenly formed by the accumulation of masses thrown up. The sea also cast up dead fish; many islands were submerged; and, again, ships were seen stranded by the retreat of the waters. At the same time Bithynia, the Hellespont, and either Phrygia, suffered severely. This calamity prevailed for a considerable time, though the violence with which it commenced did not continue, but abated by degrees until it entirely ceased.

CHAP. XVIII.—ANTIOCH EMBELLISHED BY DIFFERENT GOVERNORS.

IN the course of the same period, Memnonius, Zoilus, and Callistus, were sent out by Theodosius to the government² of

¹ This earthquake happened A. D. 447, in the consulate of Ardabures and Callepius.

² That is, to be *Consulares* of Syria. For the *Consularis* of Syria governed the city of Antioch, and the other cities of Syria-Cœle. We must not suppose that these three men were sent at one and the same time by Theodosius, to preside over the Antiochian jurisdiction: for this was not the usage of the Romans, but that each of them had been sent out at several times, one after the other, by Theodosius. Libanius says that it was

Antioch, men who made our religion an object of marked honour. Memnonius also rebuilt from the foundation, in a beautiful and elaborate style, the edifice which we name Psephium, leaving an unroofed court in the centre. Zoilus built the basilica, which is situated on the south side of that of Rufinus, and which has continued to bear his name to our times, although the structure itself has undergone changes from various casualties. Callistus, too, erected a noble and striking edifice, called both in former and present times the Basilica of Callistus, in front of the seats of justice, and opposite the forum where stand the splendid buildings which are the quarters of the military commanders.¹ Subsequently, Anatolius, having been sent out as commander of the forces of the East, erects the basilica which bears his name, and embellishes it with every variety of material. The introduction of these matters, though beside my more immediate purpose, will not offend the taste of the curious reader.

CHAP. XIX.—WARS DURING THE REIGN OF THEODOSIUS.

IN the times of Theodosius, repeated revolts took place in Europe, during the reign of Valentinian at Rome. These were crushed by Theodosius, who sent out for that purpose large land and naval forces. He also so far quelled the insolence of the Persians, whose sovereign at that time was Isdigerdes, the father of Vararanes, or, as Socrates thinks, Vararanes himself, as to reduce them to solicit peace; which was granted, and lasted till the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius. These transactions have been recorded by other writers, and have also been very elegantly epitomized by Eustathius of Epiphania, the Syrian, who wrote, besides, an account of the capture of Amida. In that age, too, it is said that the poets

usual for the *Consulares* of Syria to erect some public structure, that they might ingratiate themselves with the people of Antioch.

¹ Probably by the *στρατηγοί* we are to understand not the military commanders in chief, but the magistrates or duumviri, who in Greek were termed *στρατηγοί*. The same term occurs in this sense in Euseb. Eccles. Hist. b. vii. chap. 11, and b. viii. chap. 11, for the house is said to have been in the forum, over against the palace in which was the court of judicature. Now, such a house as this seems to be more agreeable to a municipal magistrate than to a military officer; and besides, these houses were in Greek termed *στρατήγία*. Such was the *Strategium* at Constantinople. See Socrates, Eccles. Hist. b. i. chap. 16.

Claudian¹ and Cyrus² flourished ; and that Cyrus was elevated to the seat of highest dignity among the prefects, styled by our ancestors the prefect of the palace, and was also invested with the command of the forces of the West, when the Vandals under Genseric had made themselves masters of Carthage.

CHAP. XX.—THE EMPRESS EUDOCIA.

THEODOSIUS also espoused Eudocia, who had previously participated in the saving baptism ; an Athenian by birth, and distinguished by poetic skill and beauty of person ; through the offices of his sister, the princess Pulcheria. By her he

¹ Claudian the celebrated Latin poet is here meant ; he wrote both in Greek and Latin. A two-fold difficulty occurs. 1. How a Latin poet should come to be mentioned here by Evagrius ? 2. Why he is placed on the times of Theodosius junior, whereas that Claudian, whose verses are now extant, flourished in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, as his writings inform us ? The answer to the first question is easy. For Claudian wrote not only Latin but Greek poems also, and on this account, in the epigram which was inscribed on his statue, he is said to have had the soul of Virgil and Homer also transfused into him. He began to write a Latin poem first A. D. 395, while Olybrius and Probinus were consuls. He wrote an elegant poem on their consulate, which is still extant. When this attempt had succeeded, it encouraged him thenceforth to write Latin verses, whereas he had published only Greek poems before, as himself attests in his Elegy to Probinus, in these words

Romanos bibimus primum te consule fontes,
Et Latine cessit Graia Thalia togæ
Incipiensque tuis a fascibus omnia cepi,
Fataque debebo posteriora tibi.

It is certain that Claudian was by nation a Grecian, born at the city Alexandria, as Suidas informs us at the word *κλαυδιανός*. Claudian himself also attests the same, in his poem to Hadrianus Præfectus Prætorio, (who was himself also an Alexandrian). For he writes thus concerning Alexander the Macedonian ;

Conditor hic patriæ. Sic hostibus ille pepercit.

And in the close of the same poem, he has these words :

Sæviet in miseros cognata potentia cives.
Audiat hæc commune solum, longeque carminis
Nota Pharos, etc. Vales.

² The poet Cyrus was by nation an Egyptian, born at the town Pano-polis. He was on account of his poetic faculty highly acceptable to Eudocia Augustus, wife to Theodosius junior, and so was promoted by the emperor Theodosius to the prefecture of the prætorium, and to that of the city. He was afterwards bishop of Cotyæum.

had a daughter Eudoxia, whom, when she had reached a marriageable age, the emperor Valentinian afterwards espoused; for which purpose he made a voyage from the elder Rome to the city of Constantine. At a subsequent period, when Eudocia was pursuing a journey to the holy city of Christ our God, she also visits this place;¹ and concluded an address to our people with the following verse,

'Tis from your blood I proudly trace my line:²

in allusion to the colonies which were sent hither from Greece. Of these, if any one is curious to know the particulars, an elaborate account has been given by Strabo the geographer, Phlegon, and Diodorus Siculus, as well as by Arrian and Pisander³ the poet, and, besides, by the distinguished sophists Ulpian, Libanius,⁴ and Julian.⁵ On this occasion, the sons of the Antiochenes honoured her with a skilfully executed statue in brass, which has been preserved even to our times. At her suggestion, Theodosius considerably enlarges the bounds of the city, by extending the circuit of the wall as far as the gate which leads to the suburb of Daphne: of which those who are disposed may assure themselves by visible proof; for the whole wall may still be traced, since the remains afford a sufficient guidance to the eye. Some, however, say that the elder Theodosius extended the wall. He gave, besides, two

¹ Musculus and Christopherson supposed that by the word *Ἱερουσόλα* the city Jerusalem was meant; but the city Antioch is to be understood. For Evagrius wrote his history at Antioch, the scene of his own early fortunes, as is shown in the account of his Life and Ecclesiastical History prefixed to this volume.

² Hom. Il. vi. 211.

³ There were two Pisanders, poets. The one a Rhodian, who wrote the poem *Heraclea* in two books, which treats concerning the exploits of Hercules; the other Pisander was a Lycaonian, born at Larindi, a town of Lycaonia. He wrote six books in heroic verse, concerning the marriages of the heroes and goddesses, which were stuffed with all manner of mythical histories.

⁴ Libanius, the Antiochian sophist, wrote an oration entitled *Antiochicus*, which is still extant, and Evagrius here alludes to this oration, in which he recounts all the Greek colonies, which at several times had been brought to Antioch. Amongst these he reckons those Athenians whom Seleucus, after the destruction of the city of Antigonía, had brought to Antioch. *Vales.*

⁵ Who this Julianus the sophist was, is uncertain. Valesius thinks that he was a Cappadocian, and taught rhetoric at Athens.

hundred pounds' weight of gold for the restoration of the baths of Valens, which had been partially burnt.

CHAP. XXI.—VISITS OF EUDOCIA TO JERUSALEM.—ASCETICS.

FROM this city Eudocia proceeds on two occasions to Jerusalem;¹ but on account of what circumstances, or with what object in the first instance, must be gathered through those writers who have treated the subject, although they do not appear to me to give true accounts. At all events, when visiting the holy city of Christ, she did many things for the honour of our Saviour God, even so far as to erect holy monasteries, and what are termed *Lauræ*.² In these places the mode of life is different, but the discipline of each terminates in the same devout object. For those who live together in companies are still not under the influence of any of those things which weigh down to the earth, since they possess no gold: but why should I say gold, when no article of even dress or food is the sole property of any one among them, but the gown or vest which one is now wearing, another presently puts on, so that the clothing of all appears to belong to one, and that of one to all? A common table also is set before them, not delicately furnished with meats or any other dainties, but supplied with fare of herbs and pulse, and that only in sufficient quantity to sustain life. They maintain common supplications to God throughout the day and night, to such a degree distressing themselves, so galling themselves by their severe service, as to seem, in a manner, tombless corpses. They also frequently practise superadditions,³ as they are called, namely,

¹ Eudocia's former journey to Jerusalem was performed A. D. 438, as Baronius observes. In the year following, she returned from Jerusalem to Constantinople, carrying along with her the relics of St. Stephen. But writers are not agreed as to the date of her second journey to Jerusalem; Baronius places it in the reign of Marcianus Augustus, but Valesius thinks that it was undertaken by Eudocia Augusta while Theodosius was still living.

² A *Laura* differs from a monastery, because a *Laura* consists of many cells far disjoined one from another. But a monastery is enclosed within one wall. And in a *Laura* they lived as hermits, or anchorites, but in a monastery the monks lived together.

³ *ὑπερθεσμοί*. Petrus expounds this place of Evagrius, concerning superposition, which was the strictest sort of fast amongst the Christians, extending from the beginning of one day to cock-crowing of the next.

by maintaining their fastings for two or three days ; and some on the fifth day, or even later, scarcely allow themselves a portion of necessary food. On the other hand, there is a class who pursue a contrary course, and individually seclude themselves in chambers of so limited a height and width, that they can neither stand upright nor lie down at ease, confining their existence to "dens and caves of the earth,"¹ as says the apostle. Some, too, take up their dwelling with the wild beasts, and in untracked recesses of the ground ; and thus offer their supplications to God. Another mode has also been devised, one which reaches to the utmost extent of resolution and endurance ; for transporting themselves to a scorched wilderness, and covering only those parts which nature requires to be concealed, both men and women leave the rest of their persons exposed both to excessive frosts and scorching blasts, regardless alike of heat and cold. They, moreover, cast off the ordinary food of mankind, and feed upon the produce of the ground, whence they are termed Grazers ;² allowing themselves no more than is barely sufficient to sustain life. In consequence, they at length became assimilated to wild beasts, with their outward form altogether disfigured, and their mind in a state no longer fitted for intercourse with their species, whom they even shun when they see them : and, on being pursued, contrive to escape, favoured either by their swiftness of foot, or places difficult of access. I will mention still another class which had almost escaped recollection, though it bears away the pre-eminence from all others. Its numbers are very small ; but still there are persons, who, when by virtue they have attained to a condition exempt from passion, return to the world. In the midst of the stir, by plainly intimating that they are indifferent to those who view them with amazement, they thus trample underfoot vain-glory, the last garment, according to the wise Plato, which it is the nature of the soul to cast off. By similar means they study the art of apathy in

Valesius here proposes to read *ὑπερθεσίμους* as an adjective, understanding *ἡμέρας*, days, or *νηστείας*, fasts. See note in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. book v. chap. 24.

¹ Heb. xi. 38.

² *Βοσκοί* ; that is, Feeders upon the ground. Sozomen (Eccl. Hist. book vi. chap. 33) relates, that some monks in Mesopotamia were called by this name, because they were the first who found out this stricter sort of abstinence.

eating, practising it even, if need be, with the petty retailers of victuals. They also constantly frequent the public baths, mostly mingling and bathing with women, since they have attained to such an ascendancy over their passions, as to possess dominion over nature, and neither by sight, touch, or even embracing of the female, to relapse into their natural condition; it being their desire to be men among men, and women among women, and to participate in both sexes. In short, by a life thus all excellent and divine, virtue exercises a sovereignty in opposition to nature, establishing her own laws, so as not to allow them to partake to satiety in any necessary. Indeed, their own rule enjoins them to hunger and thirst, and to clothe the body only so far as necessity requires: and their mode of life is balanced by opposite scales, so accurately poised, that they are unconscious of any tendency to motion, though arising from strongly antagonistic forces; for opposing principles are, in their case, mingled to such a degree, by the power of Divine grace combining and again severing things that are incongruous, that life and death dwell together in them, things opposed to each other in nature and in circumstances: for where passion enters, they must be dead and entombed; where prayer to God is required, they must display vigour of body and energy of spirit, though the flower of life be past. Thus with them are the two modes of life combined,¹ so as to be constantly living with a total renunciation of the flesh, and at the same time mingling with the living; both applying remedies to their bodies, and presenting to God the cries of suppliants, and in all other respects fully maintaining a practice in accordance with their former mode of life, except as regards restriction in intercourse and place: on the contrary, they listen to all, and associate with all. They also practise a long and continuous series of kneelings and risings, their earnestness alone serving to re-invigorate their years and self-inflicted weakness; being, as it were, fleshless athletes, bloodless wrestlers, esteeming fasting as a varied and luxurious feast, and the utmost abstinence from food a completely furn-

¹ Some have expounded these words concerning the present and future life. But Valesius thinks that by these words, "both sorts of life," the secular and monastic life are to be understood, which is plainly confirmed by the context, which speaks of their performing all other things agreeable to their former life.

ished table. On the other hand, whenever a stranger visits them, even at early dawn, they welcome him with generous entertainment, devising another form of fasting in eating against their will. Hence the marvel, how far the pittance on which they subsist falls short of a sufficient allowance of food; foes of their own desires and of nature, but devoted to the wills of those around them, in order that fleshly enjoyment may be constantly expelled, and the soul, diligently selecting and maintaining whatever is most seemly and pleasing to God, may alone bear sway: happy in their mode of existence here, happier in their departure hence, on which they are ever intent, impatient to behold Him whom they desire.

CHAP. XXII.—BUILDINGS ERECTED BY EUDOCIA.—ACCESSION OF MARCIAN.

AFTER having conversed with many persons of this description, and founded, as I have already said, many such seats of contemplation, and, besides, restored the walls of Jerusalem, the consort of Theodosius also erected a very large sanctuary, conspicuous for elevation and beauty, in honour of Stephen, the first of deacons and martyrs, distant less than a stadium from Jerusalem. Here her own remains were deposited, when she had departed to the unfading life.

When Theodosius had subsequently, or, as some think, before Eudocia, departed the sovereignty which he had administered for eight and thirty years, the most excellent Marcian is invested with the empire of the Romans. The sequel of my history shall very clearly set forth the transactions of his reign over the East, while the heavenly impulse bestows its own kindly aid.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—FORTUNES AND CHARACTER OF MARCIAN.

THE transactions of the time of Theodosius have been embraced in the preceding book. Let me now introduce upon the scene Marcian, the renowned emperor of the Romans, and

in so doing, first recount who and whence he was, and by what means he won the imperial power: and having done this, let me record the occurrences of his reign in the order of time. Marcian, as has been recorded by many other writers, and in particular by Priscus, the rhetorician, was by birth a Thracian, and the son of a military man. In his desire to follow his father's mode of life, he had set out for Philippopolis, where he could be enrolled in the legions, and on the road sees the body of a person recently slain, lying exposed upon the ground. On going up to it—for, besides the excellence of his other virtues, he was singularly compassionate—he commiserated the occurrence, and suspended his journey for some time, from a desire to discharge the due offices to the dead. Some persons, observing the circumstance, reported it to the authorities at Philippopolis, and they proceeded to apprehend Marcian, and interrogated him respecting the murder; and when, through the prevalence of conjecture and mere probability over truth and asseveration of innocence, he was upon the point of suffering the punishment of guilt, a providential interposition suddenly brings into their hands the real criminal, who, by forfeiting his own head as the penalty of the deed, procures an acquittance of the head of Marcian. After this unexpected escape, he presents himself to one of the military bodies stationed in the place, with the intention of enlistment.¹ Struck with the singularity of his fortunes, and with reason concluding that he would arrive at power and pre-eminent distinction, they gladly admitted him, and that too without placing him, according to military rule, lowest on the roll; but they assigned to him the grade of a lately-deceased soldier, named Augustus, by inscribing in the list Marcian, called also Augustus. Thus did his name anticipate the style of our sovereigns, who assume the title of Augustus on attaining the purple. It was as if the name refused to abide on him without its appropriate rank, and, on the other hand, the rank was not ambitious of another name for the augmentation of its style: and thus arose an identity of his personal and titular appellations, since his dignity and his name found an expression

¹ παραγγέλλειν. This word literally signifies, to desire or sue for an office. Lower down in this chapter the derived substantive παραγγελία is used to signify the muster-roll in which the soldiers' names were entered before they took the sacramentum or military oath.

in the same term. Another circumstance also occurred, which might serve as a prognostic of the imperial power being destined to Marcian. When serving under Aspar against the Vandals, he was one of many who fell into their hands on the total defeat of that general; and, on the demand of Genseric to see the prisoners, was dragged with the rest along the plain. When the whole body was collected, Genseric sat in an upper chamber, surveying with delight the numbers that had been taken. As the time wore on, they pursued each his own inclination, for the guard had, at the order of Genseric, released them from their bonds; and while they accordingly disposed of themselves each in his several way, Marcian laid himself down upon the ground to sleep in the sun, which was shining with unusual heat for the season of the year. An eagle, however, poising his flight above him, and directly intercepting the sun as with a cloud, thus produced a shade and its consequent refreshment, to the amazement of Genseric, who, rightly presaging the future, sent for Marcian, and liberated him, having previously bound him by solemn oaths, that on attaining the imperial power he would maintain faithfully the rights of treaty towards the Vandals, and not commence hostilities against them; and Procopius records,¹ that Marcian observed these conditions. But let us leave this digression, and return to my subject. Marcian was pious towards God, and just towards those under his rule; regarding as wealth neither treasured stores nor the revenue of imposts, but only the means of providing relief to the needy, and to the wealthy the security of their possessions. He was dreaded, not in the infliction of punishment, but only by its anticipation. On this account he received the sovereignty not as an inheritance, but as the prize of virtue, conferred by the unanimous voice both of the senate and men of all ranks, at the suggestion of Pulcheria, whom he also espoused as his partner in the imperial dignity, though she still remained a virgin to old age. These transactions took place without the previous ratification of the choice by Valentinian, the emperor of Rome, who, however, accorded his approval to the virtues of the person elected. It was further the desire of Marcian, that an un-

¹ The words of Procopius to which Evagrius here alludes, were formerly extant in the first book of his *Vandalics*. But they are omitted in the Augustan edition, page 96.

[EVAGRIUS.]

divided service should be offered up by all to God, by uniting in pious concord the tongues which the arts of impiety had confounded, and that the Deity should be honoured by one and the same doxology.

CHAP. II.—COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON SUMMONED BY MARCIAN.

WHILE entertaining these intentions, the emperor is addressed both by the legates of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, who alleged that Dioscorus had, during the second council of Ephesus, refused to receive the epistle of Leo, containing a formula of the true doctrine; and also by those who had been contumeliously treated by Dioscorus, entreating that their case might be submitted to the decision of a synod. But Eusebius, who had been president of the church of Dorylæum, was especially urgent, and affirmed that both himself and Flavian had been deposed by the intrigues of Chrysaphius, the minister¹ of Theodosius, because, in reply to his demand of an offering in gold, Flavian had, in acknowledgment of his own appointment, sent the sacred vessels to shame him;² and also that Chrysaphius made a near approach to Eutyches in erroneous doctrine. He also said that Flavian had even been brought to a miserable end by being thrust and trampled on by Dioscorus himself. These circumstances caused the synod at Chalcedon to be assembled; for which purpose the bearers of missives were despatched, and the prelates in all quarters were summoned by pious letters. The place named was, in the first instance, Nicæa; and, accordingly, Leo, the president of Rome, on writing an epistle respecting Paschasianus, Lucentius, and others, whom he had sent as his representatives, inscribed it to the council assembled at Nicæa. It was, however, subsequent-

¹ ὑπασπιστοῦ. Minister, or perhaps the defender of the emperor's person. Such is the sense of this word according to Valesius.

² Theophanes relates that Theodosius at the suggestion of Chrysaphius, commanded Flavian, the newly ordained bishop of Constantinople, that for his ordination he should send him the Eulogiæ, that is, the loaves of benediction, or, pieces of the blessed bread. See Socrat. b. vii. chap. 12. And when Flavian had sent white loaves of bread, Chrysaphius made answer, that the emperor demanded golden Eulogiæ. In answer to which Flavian wrote back, that he had no money which he could send, unless instead of money he should present him with the sacred vessels of the church. This, as Theophanes says, raised a deadly grudge between Chrysaphius and Flavian. *Vales.*

ly convened at Chalcedon in Bithynia. Zacharias,¹ the rhetorician, influenced by partiality, says that Nestorius was also fetched from his place of exile : but this is disproved by the circumstance, that Nestorius was generally anathematized by the members of the synod. And Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, clearly establishes the point, when writing in the following terms to John, a bishop, and another John, a presbyter, respecting the matters agitated in the assembly. "Those who were in quest of the remains of Nestorius, again presenting themselves, clamorously demanded of the synod, why the saints are anathematized ; so that the emperor indignantly ordered the guards to drive them far from the place." How then Nestorius was summoned, when he had departed from the world, I am unable to say.

CHAP. III.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. EUPHEMIA.

THE place of meeting was the sacred precinct of Euphemia, the martyr, situated in the district of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and distant not more than two stadia from the Bosphorus. The site is a beautiful spot, of so gentle an ascent, that those who are on their way to the temple are not aware of their immediate approach, but suddenly find themselves within the sanctuary on elevated ground ; so that, extending their gaze from a commanding position, they can survey the level surface of the plain spread out beneath them, green with herbage, waving with corn, and beautified with every kind of tree ; at the same time including within their range woody mountains, towering gracefully or boldly swelling, as well as parts of the sea under various aspects : here, where the winds do not reach them, the still waters, with their dark blue tint, sweetly playing with gentle ripple on the beach ; there wildly surging, and sweeping back the sea-weeds and the lighter shell-fish with the recoil of its waves. Directly opposite is Constantinople : and thus the beauty of the site is enhanced by the view of so vast a city. The holy place consists of three immense build-

¹ Zacharias Rhetor wrote an Ecclesiastical History from the beginning of the emperor Marcian's reign down to the reign of Anastasius. But his history was corrupted with party spirit. See below, b. iii. chap. 7. And in chap. 18 of his third book, Evagrius accuses Zacharias of carelessness.

ings. One is open to the sky, including a court of great extent, and embellished on all sides with columns; and next to it another, nearly resembling it in its length, breadth, and columns, and differing from it only in being roofed. On the north side of this, facing the East, is a round building, skilfully terminated in a dome,¹ and surrounded in the interior with columns of uniform materials and size. These support a gallery under the same roof, so contrived, that those who are disposed, may thence both supplicate the martyr and be present at the mysteries. Within the domed building, towards the Eastern part, is a splendid enclosure,² where are preserved the sacred remains of the martyr in a long coffin (it is distinguished by some persons by the term "long"³) of silver, skilfully worked. The wonders which have at certain times been wrought by the holy martyr, are manifest to all Christians. For frequently she has appeared in a dream to the bishops of the city from time to time, and even to certain persons whose lives have been otherwise distinguished, and has bid them visit her and gather a vintage⁴ at her sanctuary. When such an occurrence had been ascertained by the sovereigns, the patriarch, and the city, they visit the temple, both those who sway the sceptre, and those who are invested with sacred and civil offices, as well as the whole multitude, desirous to partake in the mysteries. Accordingly, the president of the church of Constantinople, with his attendant priests, enters, in sight of the public, the sanctuary where the already-mentioned sacred body is deposited.

¹ Ἐξ θόλου, that is, in form of a cupola or dome as the Italians now term it. The place where the Prytanes at Athens sat was termed Tholus.

² By σηκός is meant a place fenced in with bars made lattice-wise, in shape like what is now called a shrine. In the midst of this tomb or shrine was a silver chest wherein the relics of the holy martyr Euphemia were deposited. *Vales.*

³ Instead of μακρόν, Macra, Valesius suggests that we should read ἀρκάριον, "the ark."

⁴ Evagrius speaks here of the miraculous blood flowing out of the tomb of the holy martyr. We have followed the ordinary reading, (τρύγαν,) in the simple and obvious sense concerning the making of a vintage; which agrees exactly with the following words for the blood which in a most plentiful manner was pressed out of the blessed martyr's relics, was not unlike wine which is squeezed out of grapes. Besides, the festival of the holy Euphemia fell in the time of vintage, viz. on the sixteenth of September, as we are informed from the Greek calendar. *Vales.*

There is an aperture¹ in the left side of the coffin, secured with small doors, through which they introduce a sponge attached to an iron rod, so as to reach the sacred relics, and after turning it round, they draw it out, covered with stains and clots of blood. On witnessing this, all the people bend in worship, giving glory to God. So great has been the quantity of blood thus extracted, that both the pious sovereigns and the assembled priests, as well as the congregated people, all share in a liberal distribution, and portions are sent to those of the faithful who desire them, in every place under the sun. The clots also are permanent, neither does the appearance of the sacred blood undergo any change. These divine manifestations occur not at the recurrence of any definite period, but according as the life of the prelate or gravity of manners calls for them. Accordingly it is said, that when the governor of the church is a person reverend and remarkable for virtues, the marvel occurs with peculiar frequency; but when such is not his character, such divine operations are rarely displayed. I will, however, mention a circumstance which suffers no interruption depending on lapse of time or seasonable occasion, nor yet is vouchsafed with a distinction between the faithful and infidels, but to all indiscriminately. Whenever any person approaches the spot where is deposited the precious coffin in which are the holy relics, he is filled with an odour surpassing in sweetness every perfume with which mankind are acquainted, for it resembles neither the mingled fragrance of the meadows, nor that which is exhaled from the sweetest substances, nor is it such as any perfumer could prepare: but it is of a peculiar and surpassing kind, of itself sufficiently indicating the virtue of its source.

CHAP. IV.—COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

THIS was, then, the place of meeting of the before-mentioned synod; at which the bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, and the presbyter Boniface, were the representatives of Leo, archpriest of the elder Rome; there being present Anatolius, president of Constantinople, Dioscorus, bishop of Alex-

¹ Sozomen uses the term *κλειθρίδιον* in this sense, Eccl. Hist. b. ix. chap. 2.

andria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem: on whom attended both their associate priests, and those who held the places of highest rank in the most excellent senate. To the latter the representatives of Leo alleged, that Dioscorus ought not to be seated with themselves; for such, they said, were their instructions from their bishop: as also that they would withdraw from the church, if they should be unable to maintain this point. In reply to the question of the senators, what were the charges against Dioscorus, they stated, that he ought himself to render an account of his own decision, since he had unduly assumed the character of a judge. After this statement had been made, and Dioscorus, according to a resolution of the senate, had taken his seat in the centre, Eusebius demanded, in the following words, that the petition should be read which he had presented to the sovereign power: "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged: the bishop Flavian was murdered, and, together with myself, unjustly deposed by him. Give directions that my petition be read." When the matter had been discussed, the petition was allowed to be read. It was couched in the following terms: "To our Christ-loving and most religious and pious sovereigns, Flavius Valentinianus and Flavius Marcianus, the petition of Eusebius, the very humble bishop of Dorylæum, who now pleads on behalf of himself and the orthodox faith, and the sainted Flavian, formerly bishop of Constantinople. It is the aim of your Majesty to exercise a providential care of all your subjects, and stretch forth a protecting hand to all who are suffering wrong, and to those especially who are invested with the priesthood;¹ for by this means service is rendered to God, from whom you have received the bestowal of supremacy and power over all regions under the sun. Inasmuch, then, as the Christian faith and we have suffered many outrages at the hands of Dioscorus, the most reverend bishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, we address ourselves to your piety in pursuance of our rights. The circumstances of the case are as follow:—At the synod lately held

¹ Valesius suggests τοῖς εἰς ἱερωσύνην τελοῦσι, "those who are reckoned amongst the ecclesiastics," as the reading is in the first act of the council of Chalcedon, where this supplicatory libel of bishop Eusebius to the emperor Marcianus is recorded. The expression τελεῖν εἰς ἱερωσύνην is strictly classical. Compare Soph. CEd. R. 222, ἀπὸς εἰς ἀποδὲς τελῶ.

at the metropolitan city of the Ephesians—would that it had never met, nor the world been thereby filled with mischiefs and tumult—the excellent¹ Dioscorus, regarding neither the principle of justice nor the fear of God, sharing also in the opinions and feelings of the visionary and heretical Eutyches, though unsuspected by the multitude of being such as he afterwards showed himself, took occasion of the charge advanced by me against his fellow in doctrine, Eutyches, and the decision given by the sainted bishop Flavian, and having gathered a disorderly rabble, and procured an overbearing influence by bribes, made havoc, as far as lay in his power, of the pious religion of the orthodox, and established the erroneous doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from the first been repudiated by the holy fathers. Since, then, his aggressions against the Christian faith and us are of no trifling magnitude, we beseech and supplicate your Majesty to issue your commands to the same most reverend bishop Dioscorus, to defend himself against our allegations; namely, when the record of the acts which Dioscorus procured against us shall be read before the holy synod; on the ground of which we are able to show, that he is estranged from the orthodox faith, that he strengthened a heresy utterly impious, that he wrongfully deposed and has cruelly outraged us. And this we will do on the issuing of your divine and revered mandates to the holy and universal synod of the bishops, highly beloved of God, to the effect, that they should give a formal hearing to the matters which concern both us and the before-mentioned Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the decision of your piety, as shall seem fit to your immortal supremacy.² If we obtain this our request, we shall ever pray for your everlasting rule, most divine sovereigns."

In the next place, at the joint request of Dioscorus and Eusebius, the acts of the second council of Ephesus were publicly read, the particulars of which, as being lengthy, and at the same time embraced by the detail of the proceedings at Chalcedon, I have subjoined to the present book of the history, that I might not seem prolix to those who are eager to be brought to the end of the transactions; thereby leaving to such as are desirous of minute acquaintance with every par-

¹ It is scarcely necessary to remark that this is ironically spoken.

² Πρὸς τὸ παριστάνειν. See Socrat. book vii. chap. 36.

ticular, the means of leisurely consultation and an accurate conception of the whole. By way of a cursory statement of the more important points, I mention, that Dioscorus was convicted of having suppressed the epistle of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome; and further, of having enacted the deposition of Flavian, bishop of new Rome, in the space of a single day, and procured the subscriptions of the assembled prelates to a blank paper, represented as containing the form of the deposition. Upon these grounds, the senators decreed as follows:¹ "Of points relating to the orthodox and catholic faith, we are agreed that a more exact inquiry should take place before a fuller assembly of the council, at its next meeting. But inasmuch as it has been shown, from examination of the acts and decrees, and from the oral testimony of the presidents of that synod, who admit that themselves were in error, and the deposition was void, that Flavian, of pious memory, and the most reverend bishop Eusebius, were convicted of no error concerning the faith, and were wrongfully deposed, it seems to us, according to God's good pleasure, to be a just proceeding, if approved by our most divine and pious sovereign, that Dioscorus, the most reverend bishop of Alexandria; Juvenalis, the most reverend bishop of Jerusalem; Thalassius, the most reverend bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; Eusebius, the most reverend bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, the most reverend bishop of Berytus; and Basilus, the most reverend bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria; who exercised sway and precedency in that synod; should be subjected to the self-same penalty, by suffering at the hands of the holy synod deprivation of their episcopal dignity, according to the canons; whatever is

¹ This is the sentence pronounced by the judges who were present at the council of Chalcedon. Some persons have been surprised at seeing the secular magistrates sitting in a council of bishops and pronouncing sentence as judges. But those magistrates concerned not themselves in the cause of the faith, but left the bishops a free right and power of determining concerning that matter. Indeed, when the Rule of Faith was drawn up by the bishops convened at Chalcedon, these very magistrates, who before had often urged the council that that might be done, would not be present at the session of bishops. But in the business between Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, and Dioscorus of Alexandria, which involved nothing concerning the faith, but violence, fraud, and other crimes; in this business the secular magistrates had a right to pronounce sentence. But their decision was not a definitive sentence, but interlocutory only, as is clear from the acts of the council. *Vales.*

consequent hereupon, being submitted to the cognizance of the emperor's sacred supremacy."

On the presentation of libels against Dioscorus at the next meeting of the council, containing charges of slander and extortion, and his refusal, for certain alleged reasons, to appear, after a twice and thrice repeated summons, the representatives of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, made the following declaration :¹—"The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, lately bishop of the great city Alexandria, in violation of canonical order and the constitution of the church, have been clearly proved by the investigations at the former meeting, and the proceedings of to-day. For, not to mention the mass of his offences, he did, on his own authority, uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own bishop, namely, our sainted father and archbishop Flavian ; and this before he sat in council with the other bishops at Eusebius. To them, indeed, the holy see granted pardon for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued obedient to the most holy archbishop Leo, and the body of the holy and universal synod ; on which account he also admitted them into communion with him, as being his fellows in faith. Whereas Dioscorus has continued to maintain a haughty carriage, on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the epistle to be read which the blessed pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory ; and that too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the bearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the epistle not being read, has just been to fill the most holy churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him as regards his past impiety, as we had done to the other bishops, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and re-

¹ This sentence pronounced by the deputies of the apostolic see, is extant in the Third Act of the Council of Chalcedon, p. 192.

ligious archbishop of great Rome ; since, moreover, on the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great synod, he refused to appear, though once, twice, and thrice canonically summoned by the bishops, pricked no doubt by his own conscience ; and since he has unlawfully given reception to those who had been duly deposed by different synods ; he has thus, by variously trampling upon the laws of the church, given his own verdict against himself. Wherefore Leo, the most blessed and holy archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency of ourselves and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all-honoured Peter, who is the rock and basis of the catholic church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith,¹ deprived him of the episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great synod decrees the provisions of the canons on the aforesaid Dioscorus."

After the ratification of these measures by the synod, and the transaction of some other matters, those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus were reinstated, at the request of the synod and the assent of the imperial government ; and, after some further transactions, a definition of faith was enounced in these precise words : " Our Lord Jesus Christ, while confirming the knowledge of the faith in his disciples, said, ' My peace I give to you ; my peace I leave to you ; ' to the purpose, that no one should differ from his neighbour in the doctrines of piety,² but should accord in publishing the declaration of the truth." After the reading of the holy Nicene creed, and also that of the hundred and fifty holy fathers, they subjoined as follows : " This wise and salutary symbol of divine grace is indeed sufficient for the perfect knowledge and confirmation of godliness ; for, concerning the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, its teaching is plain and complete, and it sufficiently suggests the incarnation of the Lord to those who receive it faithfully. But since the enemies of the truth are endeavouring to subvert its doctrine by heresies of their own, and have given birth to certain empty speeches, some daring to pervert the mystery of the economy which the Lord bore for our sakes, and rejecting the term

¹ See below, p. 326, note.

² That is, the Constantinopolitan Creed ; at the drawing up of which 150 fathers were present. See Socrat. Eccl. Hist. b. v. ch. 9.

‘Mother of God,’ in the case of the Virgin ; others introducing a confusion and commixture of substance, and inconsiderately moulding into one the natures of the flesh and of the Godhead, and by such confusion producing the monstrous notion of passibility in the Divine nature of the Only-begotten ; for this reason the present great and universal holy synod, from a desire to preclude every device of theirs against the truth, and to maintain the hitherto unshaken declaration of doctrine, has determined primarily that the creed of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers¹ shall be indefeasible ; and, on account of those who impugn the Holy Spirit, it ratifies the doctrine delivered subsequently concerning the substance of the Spirit by the hundred and fifty fathers, who assembled in the imperial city, and by them promulgated universally, not as though they were supplying some defect on the part of their predecessors, but were more clearly setting forth, by expressly recorded testimony, their notion respecting the Holy Spirit, in opposition to those who endeavour to annul His prerogative. In respect to those who have dared to corrupt the mystery of the economy, and with shameless wantonness to represent Him who was born of the holy Virgin as a mere man, the council has adopted the synodic epistles of the blessed Cyril, pastor of the church of the Alexandrians, addressed to Nestorius and the prelates of the East, in refutation of the madness of Nestorius, and for the instruction of those who with pious zeal are desirous of being impressed with a due conception of the saving symbol. To these the council has not without reason appended, in order to the confirmation of the true doctrines, the epistle of the president of the great and elder Rome, which the most blessed and holy archbishop Leo addressed to the sainted archbishop Flavian, for the overthrow of the evil design of Eutyches ; as being in agreement with the confession of the mighty Peter, and forming with it a monument of concurrent testimony against the maintainers of pernicious opinions ; for it boldly confronts those who endeavour to dis sever the mystery of the economy into a duality of sons ; it expels from the congregation of the holy rites those who presume to affirm that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible ; and opposes those who imagine a mixture or confusion in respect of

¹ That is, the Nicene Creed. See Socr. Eccles. Hist. b. i. ch. 8, and also below, b. iii. ch. 31.

the two natures of Christ. It also ejects such as fondly fancy that the form of a servant which He assumed from our own nature, was of a heavenly or any other substance ; and it anathematizes those who fable a resolution into one, at their union, of two previous natures of the Lord. Following, accordingly, the holy fathers, we confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and we all with one voice declare him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead, and perfect in manhood, very God, and at the same time very man, consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, being consubstantial with the Father as respects his Godhead, and at the same time consubstantial with ourselves as respects his manhood ; resembling us in all things, independently of sin ; begotten, before the ages, of the Father, according to his Godhead, but born, in the last of the days, of Mary, the virgin and mother of God, for our sakes and for our salvation ; being one and the same Jesus Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, made known in two natures without confusion, without conversion, without severance, without separation, inasmuch as the difference of the natures is in no way annulled by their union, but the peculiar essence of each nature is rather preserved, and conspires in one person and one subsistence, not as though he were parted or severed into two persons, but is one and the same Son, Only-begotten, Divine Word, Lord Jesus Christ, as the prophets declared concerning Him, and Christ himself has fully instructed us, and the symbol of the fathers has conveyed to us. Since, then, these matters have been defined by us with all accuracy and diligence, the holy and universal synod has determined that no one shall be at liberty to put forth another faith, whether in writing, or by framing, or devising, or teaching it to others. And that those who shall presume to frame, or publish, or teach another faith, or to communicate another symbol to those who are disposed to turn to the knowledge of the truth from heathenism, or Judaism, or any other sect—that they, if they be bishops or clerks, shall suffer deprivation,¹ the bishops of their episcopal, the clerks of their clerical office ; and if monks or laics, shall be anathematized.” After the reading of the formula, the emperor Marcian visited Chalcedon, and attended the synod, and, having delivered an harangue, again took his departure. Juvenalis also and Maximus arranged on mutual

¹ Literally, shall be alienated from the clergy.

terms the matters relating to their own provinces, and Theodoret and Ibas were reinstated. Other matters were also mooted; an account of which, as I have already said, is subjoined to this history. It was also determined that the see of New Rome,¹ while ranking second to that of Old Rome, should take precedence of all others.

CHAP. V.—TUMULT AT ALEXANDRIA, AND AT JERUSALEM.

IN addition to these transactions, Dioscorus is sentenced to reside at Gangra in Paphlagonia, and Proterius is appointed to the see of Alexandria by a general vote of the synod. On his taking possession of his see, a very great and intolerable tumult arose among the people; who were roused into a storm against conflicting opinions; for some, as is likely in such cases, desired the restoration of Dioscorus, while others resolutely upheld Proterius, so as to give rise to many irremediable mischiefs. Thus Priscus, the rhetorician, recounts, that he arrived at Alexandria, from the Thebaid, and that he saw the populace advancing in a mass against the magistrates: that when the troops attempted to repress the tumult, they proceeded to assail them with stones, and put them to flight, and on their taking refuge in the old temple of Serapis, carried the place by assault, and committed them alive to the flames: that the emperor, when informed of these events, despatched two thousand newly levied troops, who made so favourable a passage, as to reach Alexandria on the sixth day; and that thence resulted still more alarming consequences, from the licence of the soldiery towards the wives and daughters of the Alexandrians; that, subsequently, the people, being assembled in the hippodrome, entreated Florus, who was the military commandant, as well as the civil governor, with such urgency as to procure terms for themselves, in the distribution of provisions, of which he had deprived them,² as well as the

¹ Constantinople. As to the rank of this see in early times, see Socrat. Hist. b. v. ch. 8. note.

² To the citizens of Alexandria, as well as to those of Rome and Constantinople, loaves of bread were every day delivered out; as we are informed from the fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code, Tit. De Frumento Alexandrino. But by whom the custom was begun is uncertain. Diocletian was the first emperor who bestowed the *Panis Castrensis* (the camp-bread) upon the poorer citizens of Alexandria.

privileges of the baths and spectacles, and all others from which, on account of their turbulence, they had been debarred: that, at his suggestion, Florus presented himself to the people, and pledged himself to that effect, and by this means stopped the sedition for a time. Nor did even the wilderness in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem preserve its tranquillity, unvisited by this commotion. For there arrived in Palestine some of the monks who had been present at the council, but were disposed to harbour designs in opposition to it; and by lamenting the betrayal of the faith, exerted themselves to fan into a flame the monastic body. And when Juvenalis, after obtaining restitution to his see, had been compelled to return to the imperial city, by the violence of the party who claimed the right to supersede and anathematize in their own province those who, as we have already mentioned, were opposed to the council of Chalcedon, assembled in the church of the Resurrection, and appointed Theodosius,¹ who had especially caused confusion in the council, and had been the first to bring a report of its proceedings, and respecting whom, at a subsequent period, the monks of Palestine alleged, in letters² to Alcison, that having been convicted of malpractices in relation to his own bishop, he had been expelled from his monastery: and that at Alexandria he had impugned the conduct of Dioscorus, and, after having been severely scourged as a seditious person, had been conveyed round the city on a camel, as is usual with malefactors. To him many of the cities of Palestine made application, with a view to the ordination of bishops. Among these was Peter the Iberian; to whom was committed the episcopal helm of the city called Majumas, in the neighbourhood of Gaza. On being informed of these proceedings, Marcian, in the first place, commands Theodosius to be conveyed near his own person, and sends Juvenalis to rectify the past, with an injunction that all who had been ordained by Theodosius should be ejected. Many sad occurrences followed the arrival of Juvenalis, while either party indulged in whatever proceedings their anger suggested. Such was the device of the envious and God-hating demon in the change of

¹ Concerning this Theodosius, who invaded the see of Jerusalem, the reader may consult Baronius, A. D. 452. *Vales.*

² These letters of the monks of Palestine to Alcison, are recorded below, book iii. chap. 31.

a single letter,¹ that, while in reality the one expression was completely inductive of the notion of the other, still with the generality the discrepancy between them was held to be considerable, and the ideas conveyed by them to be clearly in diametric opposition, and exclusive of each other; whereas he who confesses Christ in two natures, clearly affirms Him to be from two; inasmuch as by confessing Christ at once in Godhead and manhood, he asserts His consistence from Godhead and manhood; and, on the other hand, the position of one who affirms His origin from two natures, is completely inclusive of His existence in two, inasmuch as he who affirms Christ to be from Godhead and manhood, confesses His existence in Godhead and manhood, since there is no conversion of the flesh into Godhead, nor a transition of the Godhead into flesh, from which substances arises the ineffable union. So that in this case by the expression, "from two natures," is aptly suggested the thought of the expression, "in two," and conversely; nor can there be a severance of the terms, this being an instance where a representation of the whole is afforded, not merely by its origin from component parts, but, as a further and distinct means, by its existence in them. Yet, nevertheless, persons have so taken up the idea of the marked distinction of the terms, either from a habit of thought respecting the glory of God, or by the inclination forestalling the judgment, as to be reckless of death in any shape, rather than acknowledge the real state of the case; and hence arose the occurrences which I have described. Such then was the state of these matters.

CHAP. VI.—DROUGHT, FAMINE, AND PESTILENCE IN ASIA MINOR.

ABOUT the same time there was also a drought in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia; and, from want of ordinary necessities, the inhabitants had recourse to unwholesome food, which further gave rise to pestilence. The change of food

¹ Evagrius means the prepositions *ἐν* and *ἐκ*, that is, 'in' and 'of,' which differ one from the other in one letter. The Catholics confessed Christ in two natures. The heretics asserted, that He consisted of two natures, but, which had grown together and were become one nature. For, after the union of the Word, they affirmed, that the nature of Christ was one, and hence they were termed Monophysites.

caused disease ; excessive inflammation produced a swelling of the body, followed by loss of sight, and attended with a cough, and death took place on the third day. For a time no relief could be devised for the pestilence ; but all-preserving Providence vouchsafed to the survivors a remedy for the famine, by raining down food in the unproductive year, in the same way as what was termed manna upon the Israelites ; and, during the succeeding year, by willing that the fruits of the earth should be matured spontaneously. The spread of these calamities included also Palestine and innumerable other districts, making, as it were, a circuit of the earth.

CHAP. VII.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR VALENTINIAN.—ROME TAKEN. —SUCCESSORS OF VALENTINIAN.

DURING the progress of these events in the East, Aetius meets with a miserable end at Old Rome, and Valentinian, the emperor of the West, is slain, together with Heraclius, by some of the guards of Aetius, at the instigation of Maximus, who afterwards assumed the sovereignty, and who conspired against them because Valentinian had violated his wife. This Maximus forces Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, into a marriage with himself ; and she, justly regarding the transaction as an outrage and altogether monstrous, determined to set, as the saying is, all upon a cast, on account of the wrong she had suffered both in the person of her husband and the infringement of her liberty : for a woman, jealous of her chastity, is unscrupulous and implacable if she has suffered defilement, especially by one through whose means she has been deprived of her husband. Accordingly, she sends to Genseric, in Africa, and by considerable presents, as well as by holding out confident expectations of the future, induces him to make a sudden descent upon the Roman empire, with a promise of betraying everything into his hands. This was accordingly done, and Rome captured. But Genseric, barbarian-like and fickle, did not maintain his fidelity even to her ; but, after firing the city and making an indiscriminate pillage, he retired, taking with him Eudoxia and her two daughters, and returned to Africa. The elder daughter, Eudocia, he espouses to his own son, Huneric ; but the younger, Placidia, he subsequently sends, together with her mother Eudoxia, with a royal escort to By-

zantium, with the view of pacifying Marcian, who was exasperated both by the burning of Rome and the outrage upon the royal ladies. Placidia, in obedience to Marcian, consents to marry Olybrius, a distinguished member of the senate, who had come to Constantinople on the capture of Rome. After Maximus, Avitus¹ was emperor of the Romans for eight months ; and on his decease by starvation, Majorian² for more than a year : and after he had been treacherously murdered by Ricimer, master of the Roman armies, Severus for three years.

CHAP. VIII.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MARCIAN.—MURDER OF PROTERIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.—ELECTION OF TIMOTHY, SURNAMED ÆLURUS (THE CAT).

DURING the reign of Severus at Rome, Marcian³ exchanges his earthly sovereignty by a removal to a happier state, having reigned only seven years, but leaving behind him a truly royal monument⁴ in the memories of mankind. On learning this event, the people of Alexandria renewed their feud against

¹ After the death of Valentinian, and the murder of Maximus, Avitus was proclaimed emperor at Toulouse, June, A. D. 455. On the year following he was deposed at Placentia ; so that, if what Evagrius relates here be true, (viz. that Avitus reigned eight months,) his deposition must necessarily fall on the month of March in the year 456. Avitus reigned seven or eight months only, which months were part of two consulates. For which reason it is affirmed by some writers that he reigned two years. *Vales.*

² Majorian governed the Roman empire four years and as many months. Severus, who succeeded him, reigned almost the same space of years, as the same writers relate. But these things happened after the death of the emperor Marcian, during Leo Augustus's government of the Eastern empire. *Vales.*

³ Evagrius is mistaken here, as Marcian died in the consulate of Constantinus and Rufus, A. D. 457, in the month February. Majorian was proclaimed emperor at Ravenna in the same year, on the calends of April, that is, almost two months after Marcian's death. To him succeeded Severus, A. D. 461, in the consulate of Severinus and Dagalaisus, almost five years after the emperor Marcian's death. *Vales.*

⁴ The monument can be nothing else than either his own life religiously spent, or rather the synod of Chalcedon, which he had ordered to be convened, to take away the dissensions of the church, and at which he himself was present, agreeably to the example of Constantine the Great. That synod, therefore, having been convened and perfected by his labour and diligence, may deservedly be styled the work and monument of the emperor Marcian.

[EVAGRIUS.]

Proterius with still greater exasperation and excessive heat : for the populace in general are an inflammable material, and allow very trivial pretexts to foment the flame of commotion, and not in the least degree that of Alexandria, which presumes on its numbers, chiefly an obscure and promiscuous rabble, and vaunts forth its impulses with excessive audacity. Accordingly, it is said that every one who is so disposed may, by employing any casual circumstance as a means of excitement, inspire the city with a frenzy of sedition, and hurry the populace in whatever direction and against whomsoever he chooses. Their general humour, however, is even of a sportive kind, as Herodotus records to have been the case with Amasis.¹ Such, then, is the character of this people ; who were, however, in all other respects by no means contemptible.

The people of Alexandria, accordingly, taking advantage of the prolonged absence of Dionysius, commander of the legions in Upper Egypt, decree the elevation to the highest priestly grade, of Timotheus, surnamed *Ælurus*, who had formerly followed the monastic life, but had subsequently been admitted among the presbyters of the church of Alexandria ; and, conducting him to the great church, styled that of *Cæsar*,² elect him their bishop, though Proterius was still alive and discharged the functions of his office. There were present at the election, Eusebius, president of the church of Pelusium, and Peter the Iberian, bishop of the town of *Majumas*, according to the account given of the transaction by the writer of the life of Peter, who also says that Proterius was not killed by the populace, but by one of the soldiers. When Dionysius, on account of the urgency of these disorders, had occupied the city with the utmost despatch, and was taking prompt measures to quench the towering conflagration of the sedition, some of the Alexandrians, at the instigation of Timotheus, according to the written report made to Leo, despatch Proterius when he appeared, by thrusting a sword through his bowels, after he had fled for refuge to the holy baptistery. Suspending the body by a cord, they displayed it to the public

¹ See Herod. b. ii. ch. 172.

² The great church of the city Alexandria, was termed *Cæsaria*, or *Cæsarium*. see Socrates, b. vii. ch. 15. Athanasius says it was so called because it had been built in a place which formerly was called the *Cæsarium*, that is, the temple of the *Cæsars*.

in the quarter called Tetrapylum, jeering and vociferating that the victim was Proterius ; and, after dragging it through the whole city, committed it to the flames ; not even refraining themselves from tasting his intestines, like beasts of prey, according to the account of the entire transaction contained in the petition addressed by the Egyptian bishops and the whole clergy of Alexandria to Leo, who, as has been said, was invested with the imperial power on the death of Marcian. It was couched in the following terms : “ To the pious, Christ-loving and divinely-appointed, the victorious and triumphant Augustus Leo, the petition of all the bishops of your Egyptian diocese, and the clergy of your most dignified and holy church of Alexandria. Having been granted, by Divine grace, a boon to mankind, as such you cease not to exercise, next to God, a daily providence of the common weal, Augustus, most sacred of all emperors.” After some other matters, the petition proceeds : “ And while undisturbed peace was prevailing among the orthodox people of our country and Alexandria, Timotheus, immediately after the holy synod at Chalcedon, being at that time a presbyter, severed himself from the Catholic church and faith, together with only four or five bishops and a few monks, of those who, as well as himself, were infected with the heretical errors of Apollinaris and his followers ;¹ on account of which opinions they were then deposed by Proterius, of divine memory, and the general synod of Egypt, and duly experienced the motion of the imperial will, in the sentence of banishment.” And afterwards it proceeds : “ And having watched the opportunity afforded by the departure from this world to God of the emperor Marcian, of sacred memory, assuming then in blasphemous terms a bold tone of independence, and shamelessly anathematizing the holy and general synod at Chalcedon, while he drew after him a mercenary and disorderly multitude, and assailed the divine canons and ecclesiastical order, the commonwealth and the laws, he intruded himself upon the holy church of God, which at that time was possessed of a pastor and teacher in the person of our most holy father and archbishop, Proterius, duly performing the ordinary rites, and offering up to Christ, the Saviour of us all, supplications in behalf of your pious sovereignty and your Christ-loving court.” And presently it proceeds : “ And after

¹ Namely, Eutyches and the Eutychians.

the interval of only one day, while Proterius, beloved of God, was occupying, as usual, the episcopal residence, Timotheus, taking with him the two bishops who had been justly deposed, and the clergy who, as we have said, were condemned to banishment with them, as if he had received rightful ordination at the hands of the two,¹ though not one of the orthodox bishops of the whole Egyptian diocese was present, as is customary on occasion of the ordinations of the bishop of the church of Alexandria—he possesses himself, as he presumed, of the archiepiscopal see, though manifestly guilty of an adulterous outrage on the church, as already having her rightful spouse in one who was performing the divine offices in her, and canonically occupied his proper throne.” And further on : “ The blessed man could do nothing else than give place to wrath, according to what is written, and take refuge in the venerable baptistery² from the assault of those who were pursuing him to death, a place which especially inspires awe even into barbarians and savages, though ignorant of its dignity, and the grace which flows from it. Notwithstanding, however, those who were eager to carry into execution the design which Timotheus had from the first conceived, and who could not endure that his life should be protected by those undefiled precincts, neither revered the dignity of the place, nor yet the season, (for it was the solemnity of the saving paschal feast,) nor were awe-struck at the priestly office which mediates between God and man ; but put the blameless man to death, cruelly butchering him with six others. They then drew forth his body covered with wounds, and having dragged it in horrid procession with unfeeling mockery through almost every part of the city, ruthlessly loaded the senseless corpse with indignity, so far as to tear it limb from limb, and not even abstain from tasting, like beasts of prey, the flesh of him whom but just before they were supposed to have as a mediator between God and man. They then committed what remained of the body to the flames, and scattered the ashes to the winds, exceeding the utmost ferocity of wild beasts. Of all these transac-

¹ In the fourth canon of the Nicene council, it is in express words established, that a bishop is to be ordained by at least three bishops of his own province.

² The baptistery in early times was placed near the porch of the church, either on the inside, or the outside, and was usually screened off by rails, as apparently was the case here.

tions Timotheus was the guilty cause, and the skilful builder of the scheme of mischief." Zacharias, however, while treating at length of these events, is of opinion that the greater part of the circumstances thus detailed actually occurred, but through the fault of Proterius, by his instigation of serious disturbances in the city, and that these outrages were committed, not by the populace, but by some of the soldiery; grounding his opinion on a letter addressed by Timotheus to Leo. In consequence, however, of these proceedings, Stilas is sent out by the emperor to chastise them.

CHAP. IX.—LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR LEO.

LEO also addresses circular letters of inquiry to the bishops throughout the empire and the most distinguished monastics, relating to the synod at Chalcedon and the ordination of Timotheus, surnamed *Ælurus*, accompanying them with copies of the petitions which had been presented to him on the part both of Proterius and Timotheus. The circular letters were couched in the following terms :—

A copy of the sacred epistle of the most pious emperor Leo to Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, to the metropolitans throughout the whole world, and the other bishops.

"The emperor Cæsar Leo, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, to the bishop Anatolius. It has ever been a subject of prayer to my piety, that all the orthodox and most holy churches, and, indeed, the cities throughout the Roman dominion, should enjoy perfect tranquillity, and that nothing should befall them to disturb their settled serenity. The events, however, which have lately happened at Alexandria, we are assured, are known to your Holiness; but that you may be more fully informed respecting the entire transaction, and the cause of so much tumult and confusion, we have forwarded to your sanctity copies of the petitions which the most reverend bishops and clergy of the before-mentioned city, and of the Egyptian diocese, presented to our piety against Timotheus, at the imperial city of Constantine; and, in addition, copies of the petitions presented to our serenity, at our sacred court, by persons from Alexandria on behalf of Timotheus; so that your Holiness will be able

distinctly to learn what have been the proceedings of the before-mentioned Timotheus, whom the people of Alexandria and their dignitaries,¹ senators, and ship-masters request for their bishop, and what relates to the other transactions, as intimated by the tenor of the petitions, as well as regarding the synod at Chalcedon, to which these parties by no means assent, according as the matters are set forth by the petitions appended. Your Reverence will accordingly forthwith cause to assemble to you all the orthodox holy bishops who are now resident in the imperial city, as also the most reverend clergy; and, after carefully investigating and testing every circumstance, considering that Alexandria is at present disturbed, and that we are most solicitous for its settlement and tranquillity, declare your opinion respecting the before-mentioned Timotheus and the synod at Chalcedon, without any fear of man, and apart from all favour or dislike; setting before your eyes only the fear of the Almighty, inasmuch as ye know that ye shall give account of this matter to His pure Godhead. This we enjoin, in order that, being perfectly informed by your letters, we may be able to frame the fitting issue on the entire matter." The emperor wrote also in similar terms to the other bishops, and, as I have said, to the most distinguished among those who at that period were practising the endurance of the bare and immaterial mode of life. Among these was Simeon, who first conceived the station on the pillar, and of whom I have made mention in the former part of the history: as well as Baradatus and Jacob, the Syrians.

¹ According to Valesius, the ἀξιωματικοί, or Honorati, were those persons who bore the civil dignities as well in the cities, as in the provinces, the πολιτευόμενοι probably were the Decuriones. Gregorius Nazianzen joins them both together, in his 49th Epistle to Olympius, and in his 22nd Epistle to the Cæsarienses. The Nauticarii, or Navicularii, were a society of sea-faring men ordained for transportation of corn and public provisions in several quarters of the empire; (for there was a body of them in the East, another in Africa, and a third at Alexandria,) they were a set number, and transported the said provisions at their own expense, succeeding by turns in the charge and burden, to which their sons and heirs were liable, as were also those who possessed their estates after them, according to that proportion which they possessed. To the discharge of this function they were always subject, so that scarcely could they be excused by any great honour obtained. They were forced to build ships and vessels of certain burdens; but the materials for them were supplied by the country. Their charge was great, and so were their privileges, as may be seen by various laws extant concerning them in the Theodosian Code.

CHAP. X.—REPLIES OF THE BISHOPS, AND OF SIMEON.

ACCORDINGLY, in the first instance, Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, both wrote in defence of the synod at Chalcedon, and declared the ordination of Timotheus to be null, as having been irregularly performed. This epistle the emperor Leo despatches to Timotheus, president of the church of Alexandria; Diomedes, the silentiary,¹ executing the imperial commission; and Timotheus wrote in rejoinder, excepting to the synod at Chalcedon and the epistle of Leo. Of these documents copies are preserved in the collection called the Circulars:² but I have omitted them, to avoid encumbering the matter on hand with too great a number. The bishops too of the other cities expressed their adherence to the determinations framed at Chalcedon, and unanimously condemned the ordination of Timotheus. Amphilochius alone, bishop of Side, wrote an epistle, loudly reprobating the ordination of Timotheus, but also rejecting the synod at Chalcedon. Zacharias the rhetorician has also treated of these transactions, and has inserted the epistle itself of Amphilochius in his work. Simeon, too, of holy memory, wrote two epistles on the occasion; namely, to the emperor Leo, and to Basilius, bishop of Antioch. The latter, as being brief, I insert in this my history, as follows: “To my lord, the most religious and holy servant of God, the archbishop Basilius, the sinful and humble Simeon wishes health in the Lord. Well may we now say, my lord; Blessed be God, who has not rejected our prayer, nor

¹ The Silentarii, who are sometimes termed Domestici and Protectores, were officers of the greatest honour about the emperor, as they were of the emperor's inmost chamber; on which account they were also termed Cubicularii. The outward chamber, from which there was an immediate passage into the very chamber of the emperor, by reason of the silence there kept in reverence to the emperor, was termed Silentium, the Silence; which the Greeks by a corrupt name called *σιλενταρίκιον*; whence these Cubicularii had the name of Silentarii. There were two orders of these officers: the first was a meaner sort of office, their business was to command the people to be silent and quiet. The other order of the Silentarii was far more honourable; they were over the secrets of the emperor, and were reckoned amongst the Clarissimi.

² These Circulars or Encyclic letters were a collection of the answers given by the various bishops in reply to the questions of the emperor addressed to them on matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline.

withdrawn his mercy from us sinners. For, on the receipt of the letters of your worthiness, I admired the zeal and piety of our sovereign, beloved of God, which he manifested and still manifests towards the holy fathers and their unshaken faith. And this gift is not from ourselves, as says the holy apostle, but from God, who, through your prayers, bestowed on him this readiness of mind." And presently he proceeds: "On this account, I also, though mean and worthless, the refuse of the monks,¹ have conveyed to his Majesty my judgment respecting the creed of the six hundred and thirty holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, firmly resolving to abide by the faith then revealed by the Holy Spirit; for if, in the midst of two or three who are gathered in His name, the Saviour is present, how could it be otherwise, than that the Holy Spirit should be throughout in the midst of so many and so distinguished holy fathers?" And afterwards he proceeds: "Wherefore be stout and courageous in the cause of true piety, as was also Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, in behalf of the children of Israel. I beg you to salute from me all the reverend clergy who are under your Holiness, and the blessed and most faithful laity."

CHAP. XI. —PUNISHMENT OF TIMOTHY.

ON these grounds Timotheus is sentenced to banishment, and Gangra is in his case also named as the place of exile. The Alexandrians then elect another Timotheus, variously surnamed Basilicus and Salosfacialus. Anatolius dies, and Genadius succeeds him in the see of the imperial city. His successor is Acacius, who had been master of the Orphan Hospital in that city.

CHAP. XII.—EARTHQUAKE AT ANTIOCH.

DURING the second year of the reign of Leo, an extraordinary shock and concussion of the earth took place at Antioch, preceded by certain excesses of the populace, which reached the extreme of frenzy, and surpassed the ferocity of beasts, forming, as it were, a prelude to such a calamity. This

¹ See 1 Cor. xv. 8.

grievous visitation occurred in the five hundred and sixth year of the free prerogatives of the city,¹ about the fourth hour of the night, on the fourteenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, which the Romans call September, on the eve of the Lord's day, in the eleventh cycle of the indiction; and was the sixth on record after a lapse of three hundred and forty-seven years, since the earthquake under Trajan; for that occurred when the city was in the hundred and fifty-ninth year of its independence; but this, which happened in the time of Leo, in the five hundred and sixth, according to the most diligent authorities. This earthquake threw down nearly all the houses of the New City, which was very populous, and contained not a single vacant or altogether unoccupied spot, but had been highly embellished by the rival liberality of the emperors. Of the structures composing the palace, the first and second were thrown down; the rest, however, remained standing, together with the adjoining baths, which having been previously useless, were now rendered serviceable to the necessities of the city, arising from the damage of the others. It also levelled the porticoes in front of the palace and the adjacent Tetrapylum, as well as the towers of the Hippodrome, which flanked the

¹ Χρηματιζούσης τῆς πόλεως. When provinces submitted themselves to the Roman empire, it was usual for the emperor to cause an edict to be drawn up and proclaimed openly upon the place. The tenor whereof was, first, to entitle the emperor himself to all respects of dominion and supremacy over that people, and then, secondly, to abate from this by a popular insinuation of all possible sacredness and liberty of the provincials. A particular instance of this usage, as it relates to this very city Antioch, is produced by Gregory, (see Works, p. 156, edit. London, 1665,) from Johannes Antiochenus's MS. Geograph. b. 9; in these words: "And when the city Antioch had yielded itself up to the subjection of the Roman empire, an edict of the liberties thereof was sent by Julius Cæsar, and publicly proclaimed at Antioch upon the twentieth of May; the contents whereof were these, AT ANTIOCH, THE HOLY, SACRED AND FREE CITY, THE METROPOLITAN QUEEN, AND PRESIDENT OF THE EAST, CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, &c. The provinces usually returned the honour of these privileges back upon the emperor, by this way of acknowledgment. That they might keep the emperor's grace in perpetual memory, they reckoned all their public affairs ever after from that time. Antioch, in honour of the emperor, fixed its era in Caius Julius Cæsar, and made this year of grace the first. On which account, this era of theirs, which precedes that of our Lord's nativity forty-eight years, was peculiarly called χρηματισμὸς τῶν ἀντιοχείων, because at the fixing hereof the emperor did χρηματίσαι ἑαυτὸν, publicly name himself to all the title of dominion; and also χρηματίσαι αὐτοῦς, publicly entitle them to all privileges and immunities.

entrances, and some of the porticoes adjoining them. In the Old City the porticoes and dwellings entirely escaped the overthrow; but it shattered a small portion of the baths of Trajan, Severus, and Hadrian, and also laid in ruins some parts of the quarter of houses named Ostracine, together with the porticoes, and levelled what was called the Nymphæum.¹ All these circumstances have been minutely detailed by John the rhetorician. He says, that a thousand talents of gold were remitted to the city from the tributes² by the emperor; and, besides, to individual citizens, the imposts of the houses destroyed: and that he also took measures for the restoration both of them and of the public buildings.

CHAP. XIII.—CONFLAGRATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

A SIMILAR, or even more terrible calamity, befell Constantinople, which took its rise from the quarter of the city bordering on the sea, and named Bosporium. The account is, that about dusk-hour, a demon of destruction in the form of a woman, or in reality a poor woman incited by a demon, for the story is told in both ways, carried a light into the market for the purpose of buying pickled victuals, and then, having set down the light, stole away. Catching some tow, it raised a great flame, and in a moment set the apartment on fire. The conflagration, thus begun, soon consumed everything within its reach, and afterwards continuing to spread for four days, not only over the more combustible materials, but buildings of stone, notwithstanding every effort to check it, at last destroyed the whole heart of the city from north to south, a space of five stadia in width, and fourteen in length; throughout

¹ So the Greeks termed the temple of the Nymphs.

² These tributes or tolls may be understood in a twofold sense; either, 1. concerning the annual pension which by hirers was paid to the owners or lords of the houses; or, 2. concerning the money which was paid to the *fiscus*, exchequer, because those houses had been built upon the public soil. In such manner as amongst us, an annual rent is wont to be paid by possessors of houses, as well, in the city as country, to the lords of the soil. And in this latter sense we must take *τὰ τίλη* [the tributes] here. For this word is more frequently used to signify tributes, tolls, or customs, which are paid to the public. But if this term should be taken here to signify the price of houses which is usually paid by the hirer, there would have been no liberality of the emperor's in that. For he would have given nothing of his own to the citizens, but that which was another's. *Tales.*

which it left no building standing, either public or private, nor pillars nor arches of stone ; but the hardest substances were as completely consumed as if they had been combustible. The ruin, at its northern extremity, which is where the docks are situated, extended from the Bosporium to the old temple of Apollo ; at the southern, from the harbour of Julian as far as the houses near the oratory of the church of Unanimity ;¹ and in the centre of the city, from the forum of Constantine to the Forum Tauri, as it is called : a pitiable and loathsome spectacle ; for all the most conspicuous ornaments of the city, and whatever had been embellished with unrivalled magnificence, or adapted to public or private utility, had been swept together into huge heaps and impassable mounds, formed of various substances, whose former features were now so blended in one confused mass, that not even those who lived on the spot could recognise the different portions, and the place to which each had belonged.

CHAP. XIV.—OTHER PUBLIC CALAMITIES.

ABOUT the same time, when the Scythian war was gathering against the Eastern Romans, an earthquake visited Thrace, the Hellespont, Ionia, and the islands called Cyclades ; so severe as to cause a universal overthrow in Cnidus and Cos. Priscus also records the occurrence of excessive rains about Constantinople and Bithynia, which descended like torrents for three or four days ; when hills were swept down to the plains, and villages carried away by the deluge : islands also were formed in the lake Boane, not far from Nicomedia, by the masses of rubbish brought down by the waters. This evil, however, was subsequent to the former.

CHAP. XV.—MARRIAGE OF ZENO AND ARIADNE.

LEO bestows his daughter Ariadne on Zeno, who from his infancy had been called Aricmesius, but on his marriage as-

¹ The church of Homonea, [or concord,] was in the ninth region of the city Constantinople, as the old description of that city informs us. This church was called *ὁμόνοια*, [concord,] because the hundred and fifty fathers of the Constantinopolitan synod in the reign of Theodosius the Great, [see Socrates' Eccles. Hist. b. v. ch. 8,] meeting therein, agreed in one opinion concerning the consubstantial Trinity.

sumed the former name, derived from an individual¹ who had attained great distinction among the Isaurians. The origin of the advancement of this Zeno, and the reason why he was preferred by Leo before all others, have been set forth by Eustathius the Syrian.

CHAP. XVI.—REIGN OF ANTHEMIUS—OF OLYBRIUS—AND
OTHER WESTERN PRINCES.

IN compliance with an embassy from the Western Romans, Anthemius is sent out as emperor of Rome; to whom the late emperor Marcian had betrothed his own daughter. Basiliscus, brother to the emperor's wife Verina, is also sent out against Genseric, in command of a body of chosen troops: which transactions have been treated of with great exactness by Priscus the rhetorician; and how Leo, in repayment, as it were, for his own advancement, treacherously procures the death of Aspar, who had been the means of investing him with the sovereignty, and also of his sons, Ardaburius and Patricius; on the latter of whom he had previously bestowed the title of Cæsar, in order to conciliate Aspar. After the slaughter of Anthemius, in the fifth year of his reign, Olybrius is declared emperor by Ricimer; and after him appointment is made of Glycerius. Nepos possesses himself of the supreme power for five years, by the expulsion of Glycerius, whom he appoints to the bishopric of Salona, a city of Dalmatia. He is himself driven from power by Orestes, as was subsequently Romulus, surnamed Augustulus, the son of the latter, who was the last emperor of Rome, at an interval of thirteen hundred and three years from the reign of Romulus. Odoacer next sways the affairs of the Romans, declining the imperial title, but assuming that of king.

CHAP. XVII.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR LEO.

ABOUT the same time the emperor Leo, at Byzantium, departs his sovereignty, after having swayed it for seventeen years, and appointed to the empire Leo, the infant son of his daughter Ariadne and Zeno. Zeno then assumes the purple,

¹ Evagrius means Flavius Zeno, who was consul in the reign of Theodosius Augustus, A. D. 448, and Magister Militum throughout the East.

being aided by the favour of Verina, the wife of Leo, towards her son-in-law. On the death of the child, which shortly followed, Zeno continued in sole possession of the sovereignty. The transactions which originated with him, or were directed against him, and whatever else befell him, the sequel shall detail, with the aid of the Superior Power.¹

The proceedings of the synod at Chalcedon are here given in a compendious form.

CHAP. XVIII.—EPITOME OF THE ACTS OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

PASCHASINUS and Lucentius, bishops, and Boniface, a presbyter, filled the place of Leo, archpriest of the elder Rome; there being present Anatolius, president of the church of Constantinople, Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, Maximus, of Antioch, and Juvenalis, of Jerusalem, and with them their associate bishops; on whom attended also those who held the highest rank in the most excellent senate. To the latter the representatives of Leo alleged, that Dioscorus ought not to be seated with themselves, for such were their instructions from Leo; and that if this should be allowed, they would retire from the church. In reply to the question of the senators, what were the charges against Dioscorus, they stated, that he ought himself to render an account of his own decision,² since he had unduly assumed the character of a judge, without being authorized by the bishop of Rome. After this statement had been made, and Dioscorus stood in the midst, according to a decision of the senate, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, demanded, in the following words, that the petition should be read which he had presented to the sovereign power; "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the faith has been wronged; Flavian the bishop was murdered, and together with myself unjustly deposed by him. Give directions that my petition be read." On its being so ruled, the petition was read, couched in the following terms: "The petition of Eusebius, the very humble bishop of Dorylæum, in behalf of himself and the

¹ In the Florentine MS. the second book ends with this chapter, the 18th chapter being added as a sort of appendix.

² The same words occur above in the fourth chapter of this book.

sainted Flavian, formerly bishop of Constantinople. It is the aim of your Majesty to exercise a providential care of all your subjects, and stretch forth a protecting hand to all who are suffering wrong, and to those especially who are invested with the priesthood; for by this means service is rendered to God, from whom you have received the bestowal of supremacy and power over all regions under the sun. Inasmuch, then, as the Christian faith and we have suffered many outrages at the hands of Dioscorus, the most reverend bishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, we address ourselves to your piety in pursuance of our rights. The circumstances of the case are as follow:—At the synod lately held at the metropolitan city of the Ephesians—would that it had never met, nor the world been thereby filled with mischiefs and tumult—the excellent Dioscorus, regarding neither the principle of justice nor the fear of God, sharing also in the opinions and feelings of the visionary and heretical Eutyches, though unsuspected by the multitude of being such as he afterwards showed himself, took occasion of the charge advanced by me against his fellow in doctrine, Eutyches, and the decision given by the sainted bishop Flavian, and having gathered a disorderly rabble and procured an overbearing influence by bribes, made havoc, as far as lay in his power, of the pious religion of the orthodox, and established the erroneous doctrine of Eutyches the monk, which had from the first been repudiated by the holy fathers. Since, then, his aggressions against the Christian faith and us are of no trifling magnitude, we beseech and supplicate your Majesty to issue your commands to the same most reverend bishop Dioscorus, to defend himself against our allegations; namely, when the record of the acts which Dioscorus procured against us, shall be read before the holy synod; on the ground of which we are able to show, that he is estranged from the orthodox faith, that he strengthened a heresy utterly impious, that he wrongfully deposed and has cruelly outraged us. And this we will do on the issuing of your divine and revered mandates to the holy and universal synod of the bishops, highly beloved of God, to the effect, that they should give a formal hearing to the matters which concern both us and the before-mentioned Dioscorus, and refer all the transactions to the decision of your piety, as shall seem fit to your immortal supremacy. If we

obtain this our request, we shall ever pray for your everlasting rule, most divine sovereigns."

At the joint request of Dioscorus and Eusebius, the transactions of the second synod of Ephesus were publicly read; from which it appeared that the epistle of Leo had not obtained a reading, and that, too, when mention of the subject had been twice started. Dioscorus, being called upon to state the reason of this, said expressly that he had twice proposed that it should be done; and he then required that Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius, bishop of Cæsarea, metropolis of Capadocia Prima, should explain the circumstances, since they shared the presidency with himself. Juvenalis accordingly said, that the reading of a sacred rescript, having precedence, had, at his decision, been interposed, and that no one had subsequently mentioned the epistle.¹ Thalassius said that he had not opposed the reading, nor had he sufficient authority to enable him singly to signify that it should proceed. The reading of the transactions was then proceeded with; and on some of the bishops excepting to certain passages as forgeries, Stephen, bishop of Ephesus, being asked which of his notaries were copyists in this place, named Julian, afterwards bishop of Lebedus, and Crispinus; but said that the notaries of Dioscorus would not allow them to act,² but seized their fingers, so that they were in danger of most grievous treatment. He also affirmed, that on one and the same day he subscribed to the deposition of Flavian. To this statement, Acacius, bishop of Ariarathia, added, that they had all subscribed a blank paper by force and compulsion, being beset with innumerable evils, and surrounded by soldiers with deadly weapons.

Again, on the reading of another expression, Theodore, bishop of Claudiopolis, said that no one had uttered the words. And as the reading was thus proceeding, on the occurrence of a passage³ to the effect that Eutyches expressed his disapproval of those who affirmed that the flesh of our God and Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ had descended from heaven, the acts testify that Eusebius, upon this, asserted that Euty-

¹ That is, the letter of Leo, bishop of Rome.

² That is, would not permit Stephen's notaries to take the Acts in writing.

³ This passage here alluded to by Evagrius, is extant in the First Act of the Chalcedon Synod, p. 58. *Vales.*

ches had discarded indeed the term "from heaven," but had not proceeded to say from whence; and that Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus, then urged him with the demand, "Tell us from whence;" but that further than this they were not allowed to press the question. The acts then show;—that Basil, bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria, said, "I worship our one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only Divine Word, manifested after the incarnation and union in two natures:"—that the Egyptians clamoured against this, "Let no one part the indivisible One; it is not proper to call the one Son two;" and that the Orientals exclaimed, "Anathema to him that parts! anathema to him that divides!"—that Eutyches was asked, whether he affirmed two natures in Christ; to which he replied, that he held Christ to have been from two natures before the union, but that after the union there was only one;—that Basil said, that unless he maintained two natures without severance and without confusion after the union, he maintained a confusion and commixture; but, notwithstanding, if he would add the terms "incarnate," and "invested with humanity," and should understand the incarnation and the assumption of humanity in the same sense as Cyril, he affirmed the same thing as themselves; for the Godhead derived from the Father was one thing, and humanity from His mother was another.

On the parties being asked why they had subscribed the deposition of Flavian, the acts show that the Orientals exclaimed, "We have all erred; we all entreat pardon." Again, as the reading proceeded, they show that the bishops were asked why, when Eusebius wished to enter the council, they did not allow him. To this Dioscorus replied, that Elpidius presented a commonitorium, and solemnly affirmed that the emperor Theodosius had given command that Eusebius should not be admitted. The acts show that Juvenalis also gave the same answer. Thalassius, however, said that authority in the matter did not rest with himself. These replies were disallowed by the magistrates, on the ground that such excuses were insufficient when the faith was at issue; upon which Dioscorus re-criminated; "In what respect does the presence of Theodoret at this time accord with the observance of the canons?" The senators rejoined, that Theodoret had been admitted in the character of an accuser; but Dioscorus signified, that he

was sitting in the position of a bishop. The senators again said, that Eusebius and Theodoret occupied the position of accusers, as Dioscorus himself that of an accused person.

The entire transactions of the second synod at Ephesus having been accordingly read, and, in like manner, the sentence against Flavian and Eusebius, as far as the place where Hilary had declared a protest, the Oriental bishops and their party exclaimed, "Anathema to Dioscorus: Christ has at this moment deposed Dioscorus. Flavian was deposed by Dioscorus. Holy Lord, do thou avenge him! Orthodox sovereign, do thou avenge him! Many be the years of Leo! Many be the years of the patriarch!"¹ When the sequel of the document had been read, showing that all the assembled bishops had assented to the deposition of Flavian, the most illustrious magistrates ruled as follows: "Concerning the orthodox and catholic faith, we are clearly of opinion that a more accurate investigation should be made in a more complete assemblage of the synod to-morrow. But since it appears that Flavian of pious memory, and Eusebius, the most reverend bishop of Dorylæum, were not in error concerning the faith, but were unjustly deposed, both from the examination of the acts and decrees, and from the present confession of those who presided in the synod, that themselves were in error, and the deposition was null; it seems to us, according to the good pleasure of God, to be just, with the approval of our most divine and pious lord, that Dioscorus, the most reverend bishop of Alexandria; Juvenalis, the most reverend bishop of Jerusalem; Thalassius, the most reverend bishop of Cæsarea; Eusebius, the most reverend bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, the most reverend bishop of Berytus; and Basil, the most reverend bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria, should be subjected to the same penalty, by being deprived, through this holy synod, in accordance with the canons, of the episcopal dignity; with a reference of whatever is consequent, to the imperial supremacy."

¹ Valesius considers that Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, is here meant. Two things are remarkable here; first, that the Oriental bishops wish many years not to their own patriarch, but to another; and secondly, that they term the bishop of Constantinople simply and absolutely, the patriarch, giving him this honour on account of the prerogative of his see. For, in the Constantinopolitan synod, the second place in dignity was assigned to the see of Constantinople, next after the see of Rome. See above, chap. 4.

On this the Orientals exclaimed, "This is a just decision;" and the Illyrian bishops, "We were all in error; let us all be deemed deserving of pardon." When the Orientals had again exclaimed, "This is a just verdict: Christ has deposed the murderer: Christ has avenged the martyrs!" the senators ruled to the effect, that each of the assembled bishops should severally put forth his own formulary of faith, under the assurance that the belief of the most divine emperor was in accordance with the exposition of the three hundred fathers at Nicaea, and of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople; and with the epistles of the holy fathers, Gregory, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius, and Ambrose, as well as the two of Cyril, which were made public in the first synod at Ephesus; inasmuch as upon these grounds Leo, the most reverend bishop of the elder Rome, had deposed Eutyches. In this manner was closed the present meeting of the council.

At the next, composed of the most holy bishops alone,¹ Eusebius presented libels in behalf of himself and Flavian, in which he objected to Dioscorus, that he held the same opinions as Eutyches, and had deprived themselves of the priesthood. He further charged him with inserting in the transactions expressions which were not uttered in the synod, and having procured their subscription to a blank paper. He petitioned that the entire acts of the second synod at Ephesus should be annulled by vote of those who were now assembled; that themselves should retain their priesthood; and that foul tenet be anathematized.

After the reading of this document, he also required that his adversary should be present. When this had been ruled in the affirmative, Aetius, archdeacon and primicerius of the notaries, stated that he had proceeded to Dioscorus, as also to the others; but that he said he was not permitted by the per-

¹ In the third Act of the Chalcedon synod, only the bishops met, and none of the secular judges or senators were present in the council. For in that session the faith was to be treated of and thus the bishops had been invited to set forth and declare. But the bishops for a long while refused to do so, saying that the draught of the Nicene creed was sufficient, which had been confirmed by the Constantinopolitan and first Ephesine synod. Nevertheless, at length they consented. Further, where the faith is treated of the secular judges have nothing to do. It is to be remarked, that in this place Evagrius has omitted the transactions of the second Act. He seems to have mistaken the third Act for the second.

sons on guard to appear. It was then decided that Dioscorus should be sought in front of the place of meeting ; and, on his not being found, Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, ruled that he ought to be summoned, and be present before the synod. This course having been adopted, the delegates, on their return, said that he had replied : " I am under restraint. Let these say whether they leave me free to proceed thither ;" and to their intimation that they were deputed to himself, and not to the civil powers, his answer was stated to be : " I am ready to proceed to the holy and universal synod, but I am prevented." To this statement Himerius added, that the Assistant of the Master of the Sacred Offices had met them on their return, in company with whom the bishops had again visited Dioscorus, and that he had taken some notes¹ of what then passed. These were then read, and set forth the precise words of Dioscorus, as follows : " Upon calm reflection, and due consideration of my interest, I thus reply. Whereas, at the former meeting of the synod, the most illustrious magistrates ruled upon many several points, and I am now summoned to a second having for its object a modification of the preceding matters ; I pray that the most illustrious magistrates who attended on the former occasion, and the sacred senate, should do so on the present also, in order that the same points may be again debated." The Acts show that Acacius then replied in the following words : " The great and holy synod, in requiring the presence of your Holiness, has not in view a modification of what was transacted in the presence of the most illustrious magistrates and the sacred senate ; but it has deputed us merely that you should have a place in the meeting, and that your Holiness should not be wanting to it." Dioscorus replied, according to the Acts, " You have just told me that Eusebius had presented libels. I pray that the matters touching myself may be again sifted in the presence of the magistrates and the senate."

Then follow other similar matters. Afterwards, persons were again sent with a commission to urge Dioscorus to

¹ Himerius was a notary and a reader, sent by the council to Dioscorus, that he might take down in writing what was said on both sides. The bishops, as often as they went to a synod, were wont to carry their notaries along with them, so that, after the end of the synod, each bishop might carry a copy of the Acts into his own country.

appear; who, on their return, said that they had taken notes of his words. From these it appears that he said: "I have already signified to your piety, both that I am suffering from sickness, and that I demand that the most illustrious magistrates and the sacred senate should also on the present occasion attend the investigation of the matters at issue. Since, however, my sickness has increased, on this ground I am withholding my attendance." Cecropius then, as appears from the Acts, intimated to Dioscorus, that but a short time before he had made no mention of sickness, and accordingly, he ought to satisfy the requisitions of the canons. To whom Dioscorus rejoined: "I have said once for all, that the magistrates ought to be present." Then Rufinus, bishop of Samosata, told him that the matters mooted were under canonical regulation, and that on his appearance he would be at liberty to make whatever statements he chose. To the inquiry of Dioscorus, whether Juvenalis, Thalassius, and Eustathius were present, he replied that this was nothing to the purpose. The Acts show that Dioscorus said in answer, that he prayed the Christ-loving emperor to the effect that the magistrates should be present, and also those who had acted as judges in conjunction with himself. To this the deputies rejoined, that Eusebius accused him only, and there was accordingly no occasion that all should be present. Dioscorus replied, that the others who had acted with him ought to be present, for the suit of Eusebius did not affect himself individually, but rested in fact upon a judgment in which they had all united. When the deputies still insisted upon this point, Dioscorus summarily replied: "What I have said, I have said once for all; and I have now nothing further to say."

Upon this report, Eusebius stated that his charge was against Dioscorus only, and against no other person: and he required that he should be summoned a third time. Aetius then, in continuance, informed them that certain persons from Alexandria, professing to be clerks, together with several laymen, had lately presented libels against Dioscorus, and standing outside, were now invoking the synod. When accordingly, in the first place, Theodorus, a deacon of the holy church at Alexandria, had presented libels, and afterwards Ischyron, a deacon, Athanasius, a presbyter, and nephew of Cyril, and also Sophronius, in which they charged Dioscorus with blasphemies,

offences against the person, and violent seizures of money; a third summons was issued urging him to attend. Those who were accordingly selected for this service, on their return, reported Dioscorus to have said: "I have already sufficiently informed your piety on this point, and cannot add anything further." Since Dioscorus had persisted in the same reply, while the delegates continued to press him, the bishop Paschasius said: "At length, after being summoned a third time, Dioscorus has not appeared:" and he then asked what treatment he deserved. To this, when the bishops had replied that he had rendered himself obnoxious to the canons, and Proterius, bishop of Smyrna, had observed, that when Flavian had been murdered, no suitable measures had been taken with respect to him; the representatives of Leo, bishop of the elder Rome, made a declaration as follows:—"The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, lately bishop of the great city Alexandria, in violation of canonical order and the constitution of the church, have been clearly proved by the investigations at the former meeting, and the proceedings of to-day. For, not to mention the mass of his offences, he did, on his own authority, uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own bishop, namely, our sainted father and archbishop Flavian; and this before he sat in council with the other bishops at Ephesus. To them, indeed, the holy see granted pardon for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued obedient to the most holy archbishop Leo, and the body of the holy and universal synod; on which account he also admitted them into communion with him, as being his fellows in faith. Whereas Dioscorus has continued to maintain a haughty carriage, on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed, and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the epistle to be read which the blessed pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory; and that too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the bearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the epistle not being read, has been to fill the most holy churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him as regards his past impiety,

as we had done with the other bishops, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and religious archbishop of great Rome; since, moreover, on the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great synod, he refused to appear, though once, twice, and thrice canonically summoned by the bishops, pricked no doubt by his own conscience; and since he has unlawfully given reception to those who had been duly deposed by different synods; he has thus, by variously trampling upon the laws of the church, given his own verdict against himself. Wherefore Leo, the most blessed and holy archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency of ourselves and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all honoured Peter, who is the rock and basis of the Catholic church, and the foundation of the orthodox faith,¹ deprived him of the episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great synod decrees the provisions of the canons on the aforesaid Dioscorus."

After the ratification of this proceeding by Anatolius and Maximus, and by the other bishops, with the exception of those who had been deposed together with Dioscorus by the senate, a relation of the matter was addressed to Marcian by the synod, and the instrument of deposition was transmitted to Dioscorus, to the following effect: "On account of contempt of the sacred canons and thy contumacy regarding this holy

¹ The legates of the Roman see allude to the expression used by our Saviour to Peter, recorded Matt. xvi. 18. As a comment on this text, see St. Cyprian, in his book de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 113, edit. Basil, 1558. "Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, et super istam Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam," &c. The Lord speaketh to Peter, "I say unto thee," says he, "that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my church," &c.- And after his resurrection he says to the same person, "Feed my sheep." And although he gives an equal power to all the apostles after his resurrection, and says, "As the Father hath sent me, so also I send you," &c. yet, that he might manifest the Unity, by his own authority he hath disposed the original of the same Unity as beginning from One. For the rest of the apostles were the same also that Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power; but the original proceeds from unity, that the Church may be shown to be one.

and universal synod, inasmuch as, in addition to the other offences of which thou hast been convicted, thou didst not appear, even when summoned the third time by this great and holy synod, according to the sacred canons, in order to reply to the charges made against thee; know then that thou hast been deposed from thy bishopric, on the thirteenth day of this present month, October, by the holy and universal synod, and deprived of all ecclesiastical rank.”¹ After a letter had been written to the bishops of the most holy church at Alexandria on this subject, and an edict had been framed against Dioscorus, the proceedings of this meeting were closed.

After the business of the preceding meeting had terminated in this manner, the members of the synod, again assembling, replied to the inquiry of the magistrates, who desired to be informed respecting the orthodox doctrine, that there was no need that any further formulary should be framed, now that the matter relating to Eutyches had been brought to a close, and had received a conclusive determination at the hands of the Roman bishop, with the further accordance of all parties. After the bishops had with one voice exclaimed, that they all held the same language, and the magistrates had ruled that each patriarch, selecting one or two persons of his own diocese, should come forward into the midst of the council in order to a declaration of their several opinions; Florentius, bishop of Sardis, prayed a respite, so that they might approach the truth with due deliberation; and Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis, spoke as follows. “The faith has been well set forth by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, and has been confirmed by the holy fathers, Athanasius, Cyril, Celestine, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, and again, on the present occasion, by the most holy Leo. We accordingly require that the words both of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers and of the most holy Leo be now read.” At the conclusion of the reading the whole synod exclaimed, “This is the faith of the orthodox; thus

¹ In the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the same Dioscorus by the legates of the Roman see, the word ἐνέργεια, “office,” is made use of. These words are therefore added by the synod, to show that Dioscorus was reduced to lay-communion. For he is not only said to be divested of the episcopal dignity, but is also removed from every ecclesiastical office.

we all believe ; thus does the pope Leo believe ; thus did Cyril believe ; thus has the pope expounded."

Another interlocution was then issued, that the form set forth by the hundred and fifty fathers should also be read : which was accordingly done ; and the members of the synod exclaimed, "This is the faith of all ; this is the faith of the orthodox ; thus do we all believe !"

Then Aetius, the archdeacon, said that he held in his hand the epistle of the divine Cyril to Nestorius, which all who were assembled at Ephesus had ratified by their individual subscriptions ; as also another epistle of the same Cyril addressed to John of Antioch, which had itself also been confirmed. These he earnestly prayed might be read. Agreeably with an interlocution on the point, both were then read ; a portion of the former being precisely as follows. "Cyril to our most reverend fellow minister Nestorius. Certain persons, as I am informed, treat my rebuke with levity in the presence of your Holiness, and that, too, repeatedly, taking especial occasion for that purpose of the meetings of the authorities ; perhaps also with the idea of gratifying your own ears." Afterwards it proceeds : "The declaration, then, of the holy and great synod was this : that the only begotten Son, begotten naturally of God the Father, very God of very God, light of light, by whose agency the Father made all things, descended, was incarnate, assumed humanity, suffered, rose again on the third day, ascended into heaven. This declaration we, too, ought to follow, carefully considering what is signified by the expression that the Divine Word was incarnate and assumed humanity. For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word by undergoing a change became flesh, nor yet was even converted into a complete human being, consisting of soul and body ; but this we rather maintain, that the Word, by uniting personally with himself flesh, animated by a rational soul, became man in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner, and bore the title of the Son of Man, not in respect of mere will or pleasure, nor even, as it were, in an assumption of person merely ; and, further, that the natures which conspired to the true unity, were different,¹ but from both is one Christ and Son ; not as though

¹ For the Divine and human nature being joined together, have constituted to us one Christ and Lord. And so that is true which Cyril says,

the difference of the natures had been done away for the sake of the union, but they had rather consummated for us the one Lord and Christ and Son, from both the Godhead and the manhood, by their ineffable and mysterious coalition for unity." And presently the epistle proceeds. "But since, for our sakes and for our salvation, having personally united humanity with himself, he came forth from a woman; in this respect he is said also to have been born carnally. For he was not born in the first instance an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and then the Word descended upon him: but the Word, having been united from the very womb, is said to have undergone a carnal nativity, as it were, by an assumption of the nativity of his own flesh. In this manner we say that He suffered and rose again; not as though the Word of God had endured, as regards his own nature, stripes or piercings of nails, or the other wounds, for the Deity is impassible, as being incorporeal. Since, however, his own body underwent these circumstances, Himself is said, on the other hand, to have suffered them on our behalf, inasmuch as the impassible being was in the suffering body."

The greater part of the other epistle has been inserted in the preceding portion of this history.¹ It contains, however, a passage to the following effect, which John, bishop of Antioch, wrote, and Cyril entirely approved. "We confess the holy Virgin to be the Mother of God, because from her the Divine Word was incarnate and assumed humanity, and from the very conception united with himself the temple which was derived from her. With respect, however, to the evangelical and apostolical language concerning our Lord, we know that the expressions of the divinely inspired men are sometimes comprehensive, as in respect of a single person; sometimes distinctive, as in respect of two natures; and that they deliver such as are of divine import, in reference to the Godhead of Christ, and those which are humble, in reference to His manhood." Cyril then subjoins the following words:—"On read-

viz. that two natures diverse amongst themselves, have come together into a true unity. Not that of two natures one is made, in such manner as Eutyches asserted; but, that of two natures one Christ hath existed. And thus Cyril has explained the true doctrine in these words, "by an ineffable, mystical, and secret concourse to an unity." *Vales.*

¹ See above, b. i. ch. 6.

ing these your sacred expressions, we find that we ourselves hold the same opinion : for there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. We accordingly glorify God, the Saviour of all, rejoicing mutually, because both our churches and yours hold a faith which is in accordance with the inspired Scriptures, and the tradition of our holy fathers."

After the reading of these epistles, the members of the synod exclaimed in these words : " Thus do we all believe ; thus does the pope Leo believe. Anathema to him that divides and to him that confounds ! This is the faith of Leo the archbishop. Thus does Leo believe. Thus do Leo and Anatolius believe. Thus do we all believe. As Cyril believed, so do we. Eternal be the memory of Cyril ! Agreeably with the epistles of Cyril do we also think. Thus did we believe ; thus do we now believe. Leo the archbishop thus thinks, thus believes, thus has written."

An interlocution having been given to that effect, the epistle of Leo was also read, in a translation, and is inserted in the Acts ; the bishops at its conclusion exclaiming, " This is the faith of the fathers : this is the faith of the apostles. Thus do we all believe : thus do the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who does not thus believe ! Peter has uttered these words through Leo. Thus have the apostles taught. Leo has taught truly and piously : thus has Cyril taught. The teaching of Leo and Cyril is the same. Anathema to him who does not thus believe ! This is the true faith. Thus do the orthodox think. This is the faith of the fathers. Why was not this read at Ephesus ? This did Dioscorus withhold."

It is contained in the Acts that, when the bishops of Illyria and Palestine had expressed some hesitation, after the following passage of the epistle had been read : " In order to the discharge of the debt of our natural state, the Divine nature was united to the passible, that one and the same person, the man Christ Jesus, being the Mediator between God and man, might be enabled from the one part to die, but incapable of decease from the other, such being the process adapted to our cure ;"—that upon this Aetius, archdeacon of the most holy church of Constantinople, produced a passage from Cyril to the following purport : " Since, however, His own body by the grace of God, as says the apostle Paul, tasted death for

every man,¹ Himself is said to have suffered the death on our behalf; not that he experienced death to the extent of his own nature, for it would be madness to say or think this, but because, as I said before, his flesh tasted death."

Again, when the bishops of Illyria and Palestine had expressed their hesitation at the following passage of the epistle of Leo:—"For there operates in each form its peculiar property, in union with what belongs to the other; the Word working that which pertains to the Word, and the body discharging that which pertains to the body; and the one shines forth by the miracles, the other was subjected to the insults;" upon this the said Aetius read a passage of Cyril as follows:—"The rest of the expressions are especially appropriate to Deity; others, again, are equally suited to manhood; and some hold, as it were, an intermediate place, presenting the Son of God as being God and man at the same time." Afterwards, when the same bishops hesitated at another part of the epistle of Leo, which is as follows:—"Although in our Lord Jesus Christ there is altogether one person, of God and man, yet the one part from which was derived to the other a community of ignominy, is distinct from that from which proceeded a community of glory; for from us was derived the manhood, which is inferior to the Father, and from the Father the Godhead, which partakes equality with the Father:" Theodoret said, to adjust the point, that the blessed Cyril had also expressed himself thus:—"That He both became man, and at the same time did not lay aside His proper nature; for the latter continued as before, though dwelling in what was different from it; namely, the Divine nature in conjunction with humanity." Afterwards, when the illustrious magistrates asked whether any one still hesitated, all replied that they no longer entertained any doubt.

Atticus, bishop of Nicopolis, then begged a respite of a few days, in order that a formulary might be framed of the matters which were approved by God and the holy fathers. He also prayed that they might have the epistle which was addressed by Cyril to Nestorius, in which he exhorts him to assent to his twelve chapters.² All expressed their concurrence in these

¹ Heb. ii. 9.

² There is an ambiguity in these words. For they may as well be referred to Cyril's twelve heads, of which he speaks just before, as to the

requests; and when the magistrates had ruled that a respite of five days should be allowed, in order to their assembling with Anatolius, president of Constantinople, all the bishops signified their approval, saying, "Thus do we believe, thus do we all believe. Not one of us hesitates. We have all subscribed." Upon this it was ruled as follows:—"There is no necessity that you should all assemble; since, however, it is reasonable that the minds of those who have hesitated should be confirmed, let the most reverend bishop Anatolius select from among the subscribers whomsoever he may deem proper for the information of those who have doubted." Upon this the members of the synod proceeded to exclaim, "We entreat for the fathers.¹ The fathers to the synod. Those who accord with Leo to the synod. Our words to the emperor. Our prayers to the orthodox sovereign. Our prayers to Augusta. We have all erred. Let indulgence be granted to all." Upon this, those who belonged to the church of Constantinople, cried out, "But few are exclaiming. The synod is not speaking." Then the Orientals shouted, "The Egyptian to exile!" And the Illyrians, "We entreat compassion upon all;" and again the Orientals, "The Egyptian to exile!" While the Illyrians persisted in their prayer, the Constantinopolitan clergy shouted, "Dioscorus to exile! The Egyptian to exile! The heretic to exile!" and again the Illyrians and their party, "We have all erred. Grant indulgence to all. Dioscorus to the synod! Dioscorus to the churches!" After further proceedings of the same kind, the business of this meeting was brought to a close.

At the next meeting, when the senators had ruled that the

requests of Atticus, bishop of Nicopolis; to which all the rest of the bishops agreed. Valesius prefers the latter explanation.

¹ The fathers, for whom the bishops entreat, that they may be restored to the synod, are Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius, Eustathius, and Basil, who had been deposed in the first Act together with Dioscorus, by an interlocution of the judges and senators. On account therefore of this deposition, which the bishops had approved of by their suffrages, these five bishops were present neither at the second nor third Act, as it is apparent from the catalogue of the bishops which is prefixed before those Acts. Besides, in the third Act, when the legates of the apostolic see had pronounced the sentence of deposition against Dioscorus, the rest of the bishops confirmed it by their own subscriptions, excepting these five, as Evagrius has truly observed above.

forms which had been already enacted should be read, Constantine, the secretary, read from a paper, as follows : “ Concerning the orthodox and catholic faith, we are agreed that a more exact inquiry should take place before a fuller assembly of the council, at its next meeting. But inasmuch as it has been shown, from examination of the acts and decrees, and from the oral testimony of the presidents of that synod, who admit that themselves were in error, and the deposition was void, that Flavian, of pious memory, and the most reverend bishop Eusebius, were convicted of no error concerning the faith, and were wrongfully deposed, it seems to us, according to God’s good pleasure, to be a just proceeding, if approved by our most divine and pious sovereign, that Dioscorus, the most reverend bishop of Alexandria ; Juvenalis, the most reverend bishop of Jerusalem ; Thalassius, the most reverend bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia ; Eusebius, the most reverend bishop of Ancyra ; Eustathius, the most reverend bishop of Berytus ; and Basilius, the most reverend bishop of Seleucia in Isauria ; who exercised sway and precedence in that synod ; should be subjected to the selfsame penalty, by suffering at the hands of the holy synod deprivation of their episcopal dignity, according to the canons ; whatever is consequent hereupon, being submitted to the cognizance of the emperor’s sacred supremacy.”

After several other readings, the assembled bishops, being asked whether the letters of Leo accorded with the faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who met at Nicæa, and that of the hundred and fifty in the imperial city, Anatolius, president of Constantinople, and all who were present, replied, that the epistle of Leo accorded with the before-mentioned fathers ; and he further subscribed the epistle. At this stage of the proceedings the members of the synod exclaimed : “ We all concur : we all approve : we all believe alike : we all hold the same sentiments : thus do we all believe. The fathers to the synod ! the subscribers to the synod ! Many be the years of the emperor ! Many be the years of Augusta ! The fathers to the synod : those who agree with us in faith, to the synod ! Many be the years of the emperor ! Those who agree with us in opinion, to the synod ! Many be the years of the emperor ! We have all subscribed. As Leo thinks, so do we.” An interlocution was then pronounced to the following effect. “ We have referred these matters to our

most sacred and pious lord, and are now waiting the answer of his piety. But your Reverence will give account to God concerning Dioscorus, who has been deposed by you without the knowledge of our most sacred sovereign and ourselves, and concerning the five for whom you are now making entreaty, and concerning all the acts of the synod." They then expressed their approval, saying, "God has deposed Dioscorus; Dioscorus has been justly deposed. Christ has deposed Dioscorus." Afterwards, on the presentation of a response from Marcian, leaving the case of those who had been deposed to the decision of the bishops, as the interlocution of the magistrates had set forth; they made entreaty in the following words. "We pray that they may be admitted:—our fellows in doctrine, to the synod: our fellows in opinion, to the synod: the subscribers to the epistle of Leo, to the synod." They were accordingly, by an interlocution to that effect, numbered with the members of the synod.

Then were read the petitions presented from the Egyptian diocese to the emperor Marcian; which, in addition to other matters, contain the following. "We agree in opinion with what the three hundred and eighteen fathers at Nicæa, and the blessed Athanasius, and the sainted Cyril have set forth; anathematizing every heresy, both those of Arius, of Eunomius, of Manes, of Nestorius, and that of those who say, that the flesh of our Lord was derived from heaven, and not from the holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, in like manner with ourselves, with the exception of sin." Upon this, the whole synod exclaimed: "Why have they not anathematized the doctrine of Eutyches? Let them subscribe the epistle of Leo, anathematizing Eutyches and his doctrines. Let them concur with the epistle of Leo. They intend to jeer us, and be gone." In reply, the bishops from Egypt stated, that the Egyptian bishops were numerous, and that they themselves could not assume to represent those who were absent: and they prayed the synod to await their archbishop, that they might be guided by his judgment as usage required: for if they should do anything before the appointment of their head, the whole diocese would assail them. After many entreaties on this subject, which were stoutly resisted by the synod, it was ruled, that a respite should be granted to the bishops from Egypt, until their archbishop should be ordained.

Then petitions were presented from certain monks;¹ the purport of which was, that they should not be compelled to subscribe certain papers, before the synod which the emperor had summoned should have assembled, and its determinations be made known. After these had been read, Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus, stated that Barsumas, one of the persons present, had been the murderer of Flavian, for he had exclaimed "Slay him!" and, though not a party to the petition, had improperly obtained admission. Upon this all the bishops exclaimed: "Barsumas has desolated all Syria; he has let loose upon us a thousand monks." After an interlocution, to the effect that the assembled monks should await the determination of the synod, they demanded that the libels which they had drawn up, should be read; one requisition therein contained being, that Dioscorus and the bishops of his party should be present in the synod. In reply to which all the bishops exclaimed: "Anathema to Dioscorus. Christ has deposed Dioscorus! Cast out such persons. Away with outrage; away with violence from the synod! Our words to the emperor! Away with outrage; away with infamy from the synod!" After a repetition of these exclamations, it was ruled that the remainder of the libels should be read: wherein it was affirmed, that the deposition of Dioscorus was improper; that, when a matter of faith was before the council, he ought to share in its deliberations, and that, if this were not granted, they would shake their garments from the communion of the assembled bishops. In reference to these expressions, Aetius, the archdeacon, read a canon against those who separate themselves. Again, when, at the questions of the most holy bishops, the monks manifested disagreement, and afterwards, at an interrogation put by Aetius in the name of the synod, some anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches, while others declined; it was ruled by the magistrates, that the

¹ There is extant a Supplicatory Libel, presented to the emperor Marcian by the monks, in the Fourth Act of the Chalcedon Synod, p. 237. In this libel the monks requested the emperor, that an œcumenical synod might be convened, (which the emperor had before given order to be assembled,) which might consult the safety of all persons, and that the monks might not be compelled by violence to subscribe. Those monks, probably, did not believe that synod to be œcumenical, at which Dioscorus and the other bishops of Egypt were not present. Hence their request, that Dioscorus might be wholly restored. *Vales.*

petitions of Faustus and the other monks should be read: which prayed the emperor no longer to sanction the monks who had lately opposed the orthodox doctrines. Whereupon Dorotheus, a monk, termed Eutyches orthodox: in reply to whom various doctrinal points were started by the magistrates.

At the fifth meeting, the magistrates ruled that the determinations relating to the faith should be published; and Asclepiades, a deacon of Constantinople, read a formulary, which it was resolved should not be inserted in the Acts. Some dissented from it, but the majority approved it: and on the utterance of counter-exclamations, the magistrates said, that Dioscorus affirmed that he had deposed Flavian on his asserting two natures, whereas the formulary contained the expression "from two natures." To this Anatolius replied, that Dioscorus had not been deposed on a point of faith, but because he had excommunicated Leo, and, after having been thrice summoned, did not appear. The magistrates then required that the substance of the epistle of Leo should be inserted in the formulary; but since the bishops objected, and maintained that no other formulary could be framed, inasmuch as a complete one already existed, a relation was made to the emperor; who commanded that six of the Oriental bishops, three from Pontus, three from Asia, three from Thrace, and three from Illyria, should, together with Anatolius and the vicars of Rome, assemble in the sanctuary of the martyr, and rightly frame the rule of faith, or put forth each his several declaration of faith; or be assured that the synod must be held in the West. On this, being required to state whether they followed Dioscorus when affirming that Christ was from two natures; or Leo, that there were two natures in Christ; they exclaimed that they agreed with Leo, and that those who contradicted were Eutychians. The magistrates then said, that, in accordance with the language of Leo, a clause should be added, to the effect that there were two natures united in Christ, without change, or severance, or confusion;¹ and they entered the sanctuary² of the holy martyr Euphemia,

¹ In the Fifth Act of the Chalcedon Council, it is written adverbially, thus, ἀρρίπτως, καὶ ἀμερίστως, καὶ ἀσυνγύρω, inconvertibly, and indivisibly, and unconfusedly. *Vales.*

² The synod of Chalcedon was assembled in the temple or church of Saint Euphemia. But the treaty, or conference, concerning the faith was

in company with Anatolius and the vicars of Leo, as well as Maximus of Antioch, Juvenalis of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and others ; and on their return, the formulary of faith was read, as follows. “Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,” and so forth, as it has been inserted in a previous part of the history.¹ When all had exclaimed, “This is the faith of the fathers : let the metropolitans at once subscribe ! This is the faith of the apostles : by this are we all guided : thus do we all think !” the magistrates ruled, that the formulary, thus framed by the fathers and approved by all, should be referred to the imperial supremacy.

At the sixth meeting, Marcian was present, and harangued the bishops on the subject of unanimity. At the command of the emperor, the formulary was read by Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, and all subscribed it. The emperor then asked, whether the formulary had been composed with the approbation of all : upon which all declared their confirmation of it by expressions of approval. Again the emperor twice addressed them, and all applauded. At the emperor’s suggestion certain canons were enacted, and metropolitan rank² was conferred upon Chalcedon. The emperor further commanded the bishops to remain three or four days ; that each one should move the synod on whatever matters he might held in the oratory of the said church, according as the emperor had given order. St. Euphemia’s church consisted of three spacious edifices ; the first whereof was an atrium, or court ; the second, the basilica, or church itself ; the third, the altar built in form of a cupola, as Evagrius tells us in the third chapter of this book. The oratory therefore is the same with the altar, which is now termed the choir. *Vales.*

¹ See above, chap. 4.

² Not a metropolitical right or privilege, but the name of a metropolis only, was hereby given to the city of Chalcedon ; because the emperor would have nothing diminished from the dignity of the bishop of Nicomedia. The bishops of this very council determined the same thing in the cause of the bishops of Nicomedia and Nicæa. For, whereas Nicæa by the emperor’s rescript had obtained the honour of a metropolis, the judges and bishops who were in the council made answer, that this honour had been given only to the city by the emperors ; nor could the bishop of Nicæa by this law arrogate to himself a metropolitical right or privilege ; but was only preferred before the other bishops of the province Bithynia : so that he ranked next to the metropolitan. What the metropolitan rights and privileges were, we are informed from the canons of the Nicene council ; viz. that the ordinations of provincial bishops should not be made without the metropolitan’s consent ; and that the metropolitan bishop should have a power of calling out the provincial bishops to a council of his own. *Vales.*

choose, in the presence of the magistrates ; and such as were judged proper, should take effect. The meeting was then closed.

Another was held, at which canons were enacted ; and at the next, Juvenalis and Maximus came to an agreement that Antioch should have for its province the two Phœnicias and Arabia ; and Jerusalem, the three Palestines ; which was ratified by an interlocution of the magistrates and bishops.

At the ninth meeting, the case of Theodoret was mooted. He anathematized Nestorius, saying, " Anathema to Nestorius, and to him who does not affirm the holy Virgin Mary to be Mother of God, and to him who divides into two Sons the one Son, the only begotten ! I have also subscribed the formulary of faith and the epistle of Leo." Upon this he was restored to his see, by an interlocution of all parties.

At another meeting, the case of Ibas was discussed ; and the judgment was read which had been passed upon him by Photius, bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius of Berytus ; but the vote was deferred to the next meeting.

At the eleventh meeting, when the majority of the bishops had voted that Ibas should be restored to his episcopal rank, others, in rejoinder, said that his accusers were waiting outside, and required that they should be admitted. The proceedings in his case were then read ; but when the magistrates ruled, that the transactions at Ephesus respecting Ibas should also be read, the bishops replied, that all the proceedings in the second synod at Ephesus were null, with the exception of the ordination of Maximus of Antioch. On this point, they further requested the emperor to decree that nothing should be valid which had been transacted at Ephesus subsequently to the first synod, over which the sainted Cyril, president of Alexandria, had presided. It was judged right that Ibas should retain his bishopric.

At the next meeting, the case of Bassianus was inquired into, and it was judged fit that he should be removed and Stephen substituted : which measures were formally voted at the following meeting. At the thirteenth, the case was investigated of Eunomius of Nicomedia and Anastasius of Nicæa, who had a dispute about their respective cities. A fourteenth was also held, at which the case of Sabinianus was investigated. Finally, it was decided that the see of Constantinople should rank next after that of Rome.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR ZENO.

ZENO, on becoming, by the death of his son,¹ sole emperor, as if entertaining an idea that his power was incomplete without an unrestrained pursuit of every pleasure that presented itself, so far abandoned himself from the first to the solicitations of desire, as to hesitate at nothing of all that is unseemly and illicit ; but so thorough was his habitude in such things, that he esteemed it grovelling to practise them in concealment and privacy ; but to do it openly, and, as it were, in a conspicuous spot, truly royal and suited to none but an emperor : a notion base and servile ; for the emperor is known, not by the circumstances of ordinary sway over others, but by those wherein he rules and sways himself, in guarding against the admission in his own person of whatever is indecorous ; and being thus unconquered by loose indulgence, so as to be a living image of virtue for imitation and the instruction of his subjects. But he who lays himself open to the pleasures of sense, is unwittingly becoming a base slave, an unransomed captive, continually passing, like worthless slaves, from the hands of one master to another ; inasmuch as pleasures are an unnumbered train of mistresses, linked in endless succession ; while the present enjoyment, so far from being lasting, is only the kindler and prelude to another, until a man either banishes the rabble rule of pleasures, becoming thus a sovereign instead of a victim of tyranny ; or, continuing a slave to the last, receives the portion of the infernal world.

CHAP. II.—INCURSIONS OF THE BARBARIANS.

IN such a manner, then, had Zeno, from the commencement of his reign, depraved his course of life : while, however, his subjects, both in the East and the West, were greatly distressed ; in the one quarter, by the general devastations of the Scenite barbarians ; and in Thrace, by the inroads of the Huns, formerly known by the name of the Massagetæ, who crossed the Ister without opposition : while Zeno

¹ Viz. Leo II. : see above, book ii. chap. 17.

himself, in barbarian fashion, was making violent seizure on whatever escaped them.¹

CHAP. III.—INSURRECTION OF BASILISCUS. FLIGHT OF ZENO.

BUT on the insurrection of Basiliscus, the brother of Verina—for the disposition of his nearest connexions was hostile, from the universal disgust at his most disgraceful life—he was utterly wanting in courage: for vice is craven and desponding, sufficiently indicating its unmanly spirit by submission to pleasures. Zeno fled with precipitation, and surrendered so great a sovereignty to Basiliscus without a struggle. He was also blockaded in his native district, Isauria,² having with him his wife Ariadne, who had subsequently fled from her mother, and those parties who still continued loyal to him. Basiliscus, having thus acquired the Roman diadem, and bestowed on his son Marcus the title of Cæsar, adopted measures opposed to those of Zeno and his predecessors.

CHAP. IV.—CIRCULAR OF BASILISCUS.

AT the instigation of an embassy of certain Alexandrians, Basiliscus summons Timotheus Ælurus from his exile, in the eighteenth year of his banishment; at which time Acacius held the episcopate of Constantinople. On his arrival at the imperial city, Timotheus persuades Basiliscus to address circular letters to the bishops in every quarter, and to anathematize the transactions at Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. They were to this effect.

¹ Compare the passage in Juvenal, Sat. viii.

"Cum Pansa eripiat, quicquid tibi Natta reliquit."

² Zeno having heard of Basiliscus's defection, struck with fear, fled with his wife Ariadne into Isauria, and betook himself to a strong castle, named Ubara; but afterwards, when Basiliscus had sent Hillus and Trocondus with vast forces against him, he went to Tessaëdes, or rather, as Nicephorus says, to the city Seleucia, which was the chief city of all Isauria. There he was a long while besieged by Hillus and Trocondus. This person was brother to Hillus, and was consul, A. D. 482; but when Hillus had set up for a tyrant, Trocondus, who had been sent by his brother to collect forces, was taken and beheaded.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER OF BASILISCUS.

“The emperor Cæsar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus, the most illustrious Cæsar, to Timotheus, archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, most reverend and beloved of God. It has ever been our pleasure, that whatever laws have been decreed in behalf of the true and apostolic faith, by those our pious predecessors who have maintained the true service of the blessed and undecaying and life-giving Trinity, should never be inoperative; but we are rather disposed to enounce them as of our own enactment. We, preferring piety and zeal in the cause of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who created and has made us glorious, before all diligence in human affairs, and being further convinced that unity among the flocks of Christ is the preservation of ourselves and our subjects, the stout foundation and unshaken bulwark of our empire; being by these considerations moved with godly zeal, and offering to our God and Saviour Jesus Christ the unity of the holy church as the first fruits of our reign, ordain that the basis and settlement of human felicity, namely, the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who were assembled, in concert with the Holy Spirit, at Nicæa, into which both ourselves and all our believing predecessors were baptized; that this alone should have reception and authority¹ with the orthodox people in all the most holy churches of God, as the only formulary of the right faith, and sufficient for the utter destruction of every heresy, and for the complete unity of the holy churches of God; without prejudice, notwithstanding, to the force of the acts of the hundred and fifty holy fathers assembled in this imperial city, in confirmation of the sacred symbol itself, and in condemnation of those who blasphemed against the Holy Ghost; as well as of all that were passed in the metropolitan city of the Ephesians against the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently favoured his opinions. But the proceedings which have disturbed the unity and order of the holy churches of God, and the peace of the whole world, that is to say, the so-called tome of Leo, and all things said and done at Chalcedon in innova-

¹ More literally, shall oblige, or bind, the orthodox people in God's most holy churches.

tion upon the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, whether by way of definition of faith, or setting forth of symbols, or of interpretation, or instruction, or discourse; we ordain that these shall be anathematized both here and everywhere by the most holy bishops in every church, and shall be committed to the flames whenever they shall be found, inasmuch as it was so enjoined respecting all heretical doctrines by our predecessors, of pious and blessed memory, Constantine,¹ and Theodosius the younger; and that, having thus been rendered null, they shall be utterly expelled from the one and only catholic and apostolic orthodox church, as superseding the everlasting and saving definitions of the three hundred and eighteen fathers, and those of the blessed fathers who, by the Holy Spirit, made their decision at Ephesus; that no one, in short, either of the priesthood or laity, shall be allowed to deviate from that most sacred constitution of the holy symbol; and that, together with all the innovations upon the sacred symbol which were enacted at Chalcedon, there be also anathematized the heresy of those who do not confess, that the only begotten Son of God was truly incarnate, and made man of the Holy Spirit and of the holy and ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God, but, according to their strange conceit, either from heaven, or in mere phantasy and seeming: and, in short, every heresy, and whatever other innovation, in respect either of thought or language, has been devised in violation of the sacred symbol in any manner or at any time or place. And, inasmuch as it is the special task of kingly providence to furnish to their subjects, with forecasting deliberation, abundant means of security, not only for the present but for future time, we ordain that the most holy bishops in every place shall subscribe to this our sacred circular epistle when exhibited to them, as a distinct declaration that they are indeed ruled by the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers alone—which the hundred and fifty holy fathers confirmed; as it was also defined by the most holy fa-

¹ There is indeed extant a constitution of the emperor Constantine, in which the dogmatical books of Arius are ordered to be burnt. (See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. book 1. chap. 9.) But the emperor Basiliscus seems here to mean another law, which had been promulgated by Constantine against all heretics in general, part of which is still remaining in Eusebius, in the third book of his Life of Constantine, chap. 64 and 66.

thers, who, subsequently, assembled in the metropolitan city of the Ephesians, that the sacred symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers ought to be the only rule—while they anathematize every stumbling-block enacted at Chalcedon to the faith of the orthodox people, and utterly eject them from the churches, as an impediment to the general happiness and our own. Those, moreover, who, after the issuing of these our sacred letters, which we trust to have been uttered in accordance with the will of God, in an endeavour to accomplish that unity which all desire for the holy churches of God, shall attempt to bring forward, or so much as to name, the innovation upon the faith which was enacted at Chalcedon, either in discourse or instruction or writing, in whatever manner, place, or time ; with respect to those persons, as being the cause of confusion and tumult in the churches of God and among the whole of our subjects, and enemies to God and our safety, we command (in accordance with the laws ordained by our predecessor, Theodosius, of blessed and sacred memory, against such sort of evil designs, which laws are subjoined to this our sacred circular) that, if bishops or clergy, they be deposed ; if monks or laics, that they be subjected to banishment and every mode of confiscation, and the severest penalties : for so the holy and homousian Trinity, the Creator and Vivifier of the universe, which has ever been adored by our piety, receiving at the present time service at our hands in the destruction of the before-mentioned tares and the confirmation of the true and apostolic traditions of the holy symbol, and being thereby rendered favourable and gracious to our souls and to all our subjects, shall ever aid us in the exercise of our sway, and preserve the peace of the world.”

CHAP. V.—RECEPTION OF THE CIRCULAR.

ACCORDING to Zacharias, the rhetorician, Timotheus, who, as I said, was just returned from banishment, agrees to these circular letters ; as does also Peter, president of the church of Antioch, surnamed the Fuller, who also attended Timotheus at the imperial city. After these proceedings, they also determined that Paul should occupy the archiepiscopal throne of the church of Ephesus.¹ This author also says, that Anas-

¹ See below, chap. 6.

tasius, the successor of Juvenalis as president of Jerusalem, subscribes the circular, and very many others; so that those who repudiated the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon, amounted to about five hundred: and also that a written petition was addressed to Basiliscus by the Asiatic bishops, assembled at Ephesus,¹ a part of which is couched in the following terms: "To our entirely pious and Christ-loving lords,

¹ Concerning this Ephesine council, which was held in the times of the emperor Basiliscus, Baronius in his Annals, at the year of Christ 476, writes very slightly and negligently, remarking this only, that it was celebrated by the Eutychians. But he mentions neither upon what account it was assembled, nor what was transacted therein. Valesius supplies the following account. After the circular letters sent forth by the emperor Basiliscus against the Chalcedon council, Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, the only person of the patriarchs subject to the Eastern empire, refused subscribing to these letters, nor would he ever endure to expunge the Chalcedon synod out of the ecclesiastical tables. Moreover, the monks of Constantinople resolutely opposed Basiliscus. Lastly, the Constantinopolitan populace began to be most grievously tumultuous, threatening to fire the city and the palace, if the emperor should persist to put a force upon Acacius and the catholics. Basiliscus on this fled from the imperial city, took from the Constantinopolitan church their rights and privileges, and forbade the senators to speak to or salute Acacius. But afterwards, when he heard that Zeno was on his return out of Isauria, being stricken with fear, he came into the church together with his wife and children, and excusing himself to Acacius and the clergy of the imperial city, restored their rights to the Constantinopolitan church, and set forth his anti-circular, that is, letters contrary to his circular letters. The Eutychians therefore, when they saw Acacius contend with so much fierceness for the confirmation of the Chalcedon synod, and that not only the monasteries, but the people also of the imperial city, and other priests everywhere, were excited by Acacius against Basiliscus, convened a council of bishops of their own party in the city Ephesus. Where they condemned and deposed both Acacius and some other bishops who embraced the same sentiments with him, and then they entreated the emperor Basiliscus, that he would persist in his former opinion, and would not promulge a constitution contrary to his own circular letters. In the same synod, Paul is ordained bishop of Ephesus by the bishops of the same province, and the patriarchal privilege is restored to the Ephesine see, as Evagrius relates in the following chapter. This Ephesine council was held A. D. 477, after the consulate of Basiliscus and Armatas. Timotheus Aelurus seems to have presided at this council. For he came to Ephesus in the reign of Basiliscus, and seated Paul in his episcopal chair. Nor is it likely that Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, should have been deposed by any other person than the Alexandrian bishop, who held the dignity of a patriarch equal to Acacius. For who can believe that the Constantinopolitan bishop was deposed by the bishops of Asia, who long before this, from the times of St. John Chrysostom, were subject to the bishops of Constantinople? Vales.

Basiliscus and Marcus, ever victorious emperors." Presently it proceeds: "Whenever the faith has been hated and assailed, you, all pious and Christ-loving sovereigns, have made it manifest throughout that you were equally assailed." And further on: "A certain fearful retribution of judgment and fury of divine fire and the just wrath of your serenity shall suddenly involve the adversaries, those who endeavour with vauntful assault to battle down the mighty God and your sovereignty fortified by the faith; who also in various ways have not spared our humble selves, but have continually slandered and belied us, as having subscribed to your sacred and apostolic circular letters by compulsion and violence, which we, in fact, subscribed with all joy and readiness." And further on: "Let it therefore be your pleasure, that nothing be put forward otherwise than as accords with your sacred circular, being assured that, as we have before said, the whole world will be turned upside down, and the evils which have proceeded from the synod at Chalcedon will be found trifling in comparison, notwithstanding the innumerable slaughters which they have caused, and the blood of the orthodox which they have unjustly and lawlessly shed." And further on: "We conjure your piety, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, to maintain the just and canonical and ecclesiastical condemnation and deposition which has been inflicted on them, and especially on him who has been on many points convicted of having unduly exercised the episcopate of the imperial city." The same Zacharias also writes as follows: "On the issuing of the imperial circulars, those in the capital who were infected with the phantasy¹ of Eutyches, and followed the monastic rule, believing themselves to have chanced on a prize in the person of Timotheus, and hoping by the circulars to catch their own profit, flock to him with all speed, and again retire, as if convinced by Timotheus that the

¹ By *φαντασίαν*, phantasy, or imagination, Zacharias means the opinion of Eutyches, who asserted that the flesh of Christ was not true nor substantial with that of ourselves, but only imaginary. Hence the Epistles of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, wherein he confutes Eutyches's error, have this title, *Contra Phantasma*, Against the Phantasm. From this passage it may be gathered, that Zacharias Rhetor was not an Eutychian, as Baronius thought, A. D. 476. For he would never have expressed himself thus, had he been a follower of the sect of Eutyches.

Word of God is consubstantial with ourselves as to flesh, and consubstantial with the Father as respects the Godhead."

CHAP. VI.—PROCEEDINGS OF TIMOTHY ELURUS.

THE same author says, that Timotheus, setting out from the imperial city, visited Ephesus, and there enthroned Paul as archpriest;¹ who had already been ordained, according to the more ancient custom,² by the bishops of the province, but had been ejected from his see: and he also restored to Ephesus the dignity of the patriarchate,³ of which the synod at Chalcedon had deprived it, as I have already mentioned. Proceeding thence, he arrives at Alexandria, and uniformly required all who approached him to anathematize the synod at Chalcedon. Accordingly, there abandon him, as has been recorded by the same Zacharias, many of his party, and among them Theodotus, one of the bishops ordained at Joppa by Theodosius,⁴ who had, by means of certain persons, become bishop of Jerusalem, at the time when Juvenalis betook himself to Byzantium.

CHAP. VII.—COUNTER-CIRCULAR OF BASILISCUS.

THIS author also says, that Acacius, president of the church of Constantinople, in consequence of these proceedings, stirred up the monastic body and the populace of the imperial city, on the plea that Basiliscus was a heretic: and that the latter repudiated the circular, and issued a constitution to the effect, that transactions precipitated by overbearing influence were utterly null; and also sent forth a counter-circular in recommendation of the synod at Chalcedon. This counter-circular, as he terms it, he has, however, omitted, having

¹ See the preceding chapter

² It was the ancient usage, that the bishop of Ephesus should be ordained by the bishops of his own province. For, from St. Timothy, who was the first bishop of the Ephesians, down to Heraclides, whom St. John Chrysostom ordained, all the bishops of the Ephesians were ordained in the same city by the bishops of that province. *Valea.*

³ By the dignity of the patriarchal privilege, is meant the right of primacy, or the privilege of ordaining metropolitans. Compare the sixth canon of the Nicene council.

⁴ See below, b. iv. ch. 5.

written the whole work under passionate feelings. It is as follows:—

THE COUNTER-CIRCULAR OF BASILISCUS.

“We, the emperors, Cæsars, Basiliscus and Marcus, thus ordain: that the apostolic and orthodox faith, which has held sway in the catholic churches from the very first, both until the beginning and during the continuance of our reign, and ought to sway in all coming time, into which also we were baptized, and in which we believe; that this alone continue to sway uninjured and unshaken, and ever prevail throughout the catholic and apostolic churches of the orthodox; and that no question tending otherwise be a subject of debate. On this account we also enjoin, that all acts during our reign, whether circular letters or others, or anything whatever relating to faith or ecclesiastical constitution, be null; while we at the same time anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, and every other heresy, with all who hold like sentiments; and that no synod or other debate be held on this subject, but that the present form remain unimpaired and unshaken. Also, that the provinces,¹ the ordination to which was possessed by the see of this imperial and glorious city, be restored to the most reverend and holy patriarch and archbishop Acacius, the present bishops, highly beloved of God, retaining their respective sees; provided that no prejudice thence arise after their demise to the right of ordination belonging to the illustrious see of this imperial and glorious city. That this our sacred ordinance has the force of a sacred constitution is a matter of doubt to none.”

Such was the course of these transactions.

¹ When, by the emperor Basiliscus's circular letters, the Chalcedon synod had been wholly abrogated, the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, which had been established in that council, seemed to have been taken away by that same sanction. Acacius therefore used his utmost endeavour, that the emperor Basiliscus should revoke his own constitution. Besides, in the Ephesine synod, the patriarchal privilege had been restored to the see of Ephesus, as we have seen above: and consequently all jurisdiction over the Asiatic diocese, which had been given to the bishop of Constantinople by the decree of the Chalcedon synod, was taken away from that see. There was therefore need of a new constitution, whereby its rights and privileges might be restored to the see of Constantinople. This therefore the emperor Basiliscus now performs, by the publication of these his anti-circular letters. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.—RESTORATION OF ZENO.

BUT Zeno, having seen in a vision the holy and much-^{*}tried proto-martyr Thecla¹ encouraging him and promising him restoration to power, after winning over the besiegers by bribes, marches on Byzantium and expels Basiliscus, who had now held the supreme power for two years, and, on his taking refuge in a holy precinct, surrenders him to his enemies. Zeno, in consequence, dedicated to the proto-martyr Thecla a very extensive sanctuary, of singular stateliness and beauty, at Seleucia, which is situated near the borders of Isauria, and embellished it with very many and royal offerings, which have been preserved to our times. Basiliscus is, accordingly, conveyed to Cappadocia, in order to his death, and is slain with his wife and children at the station named Acusus.² Zeno enacts a law in abrogation of what Basiliscus the tyrant had constituted by his circulars, and Peter, surnamed the Fuller, is ejected from the church of the Antiochenes, and Paul from that of the Ephesians.

CHAP. IX.—EPISTLE OF THE ASIATIC BISHOPS TO ACACIUS.

THE bishops of Asia, to soothe Acacius, address to him a deprecatory plea, and implore his pardon in a repentant memorial, wherein they alleged, that they had subscribed the circular by compulsion and not voluntarily; and they affirmed with an oath that the case was really thus, and that they had settled their faith, and still maintained it in accordance with the synod at Chalcedon. The purport of the document is as follows.

An epistle or petition sent from the bishops of Asia, to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople. "To Acacius, the most holy and

¹ The Greeks, who delight much in epithets, are wont to grace each saint with proper and peculiar titles. Thus they commonly term Thecla the apostle and proto-martyr. They call her an apostle, because, like an apostle, she had preached the faith of Christ in many places and they style her proto-martyr, in regard as Stephen was the first martyr of Christ amongst men, so was she the first amongst women. She is called Thecla by way of contraction, instead of Theoclia.

² There is some uncertainty about the precise name of this place. It is said to have been a castrum, or castle, of Cappadocia. It is said that he perished by hunger and cold in one of the towers of this castle.

pious patriarch of the church in the imperial city of Constantine, the New Rome." And it afterwards proceeds: "We have been duly visited by the person who will also act as our representative."¹ And shortly after: "By these letters we acquaint you that we subscribed, not designedly, but of necessity, having agreed to these matters with letters and words, not with the heart. For, by your acceptable prayers and the will of the higher Power, we hold the faith as we have received it from the three hundred and eighteen lights of the world, and the hundred and fifty holy fathers; and, moreover, we assent to the terms which were piously and rightly framed at Chalcedon by the holy fathers there assembled."

Whether Zacharias has slandered these persons, or they themselves lied in asserting that they were unwilling to subscribe, I am not able to say.

CHAP. X.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS AT ANTIOCH.

NEXT to Peter, Stephen² succeeds to the see of Antioch, whom the sons of the Antiochenes despatched with reeds sharpened like lances, as is recorded by John the Rhetorician. After Stephen, Calandion is intrusted with the helm of that see, and he wrought upon those who approached him, to anathematize Timotheus, and, at the same time, the circular of Basiliscus.

CHAP. XI.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS AT ALEXANDRIA.

IT was the intention of Zeno to eject Timotheus from the church of Alexandria; but, on being informed by certain persons that he was already aged, and had almost reached the common resting-place of all men, he abandoned his purpose. And, in fact, Timotheus shortly after paid the debt of nature.

¹ By these words the bishops of Asia mean the legate, whom Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, had sent to them, namely, a presbyter or a deacon of the Constantinopolitan church. But if, with Christopherson, we read ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, amongst you, we must understand it of the legate whom the bishops of Asia had sent to Acacius, that he might present the libel of satisfaction to him. Valesius inclines to this latter reading.

² It would seem from Theophanes and Gelasius, that after Petrus Fullo, Johannes Apamenus was for a short time bishop of Antioch, but that being ejected after three months, Stephen was put into his place.

Upon this the Alexandrian bishops¹ elect, on their own authority, Peter, surnamed Mongus; the announcement of which proceeding exasperated Zeno, who judged him to have incurred the penalty of death, and he recalls Timotheus, the successor of Proterius, while residing, on account of a popular tumult, at Canopus. Thus Timotheus obtained, by the commands of the emperor, possession of his rightful see.

CHAP. XII.—ECCLESIASTICAL MEASURES OF ZENO.

By the advice of certain persons, John, a presbyter, who held the office of steward of the venerable temple of the holy forerunner and baptist, St. John,² visits the imperial city, in order to negotiate permission for the inhabitants of Alexandria to elect as president of their church a person of their own choice, if it should happen that their bishop should depart out of the world. According to Zacharias, he was detected by the emperor in the endeavour to compass his own appointment to the bishopric, and was allowed to return home, under an oath that he would never aspire to the see of Alexandria. The emperor too issues a precept, to the effect that, after the death of Timotheus, that person should be bishop whom the clergy and people might elect.³ On the death of Timotheus, which took place shortly after, John, by the employment of money, as the same Zacharias writes, and

¹ Instead of the received reading, Valesius proposes to read "the people of Alexandria."

² Formerly the greater church of Alexandria was termed the Cæsarea. But it is possible that the church of St. John, which had been built there by Theodosius, after the demolishment of the Serapæum, or temple of Serapis, might at this time have become the greater church, the episcopal chair being removed thither. Concerning this church of St. John Baptist, Rufinus speaks, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 27. And in the following chapter he adds concerning the relics of St. John the Baptist, that in the time of Athanasius they were brought to Alexandria. It is certain that in this church of St. John the patriarch of Alexandria performed the religious functions.

³ Hence it is clear that the power of electing their bishops had been taken from the clergy and people of the city of Alexandria, and that the emperor had removed the privilege of nominating the bishop of Alexandria to himself, but this, though not perhaps without some show of reason, was done by force and against the ecclesiastical laws, as the city of Alexandria was notoriously prone to sedition, and had several times raised vehement disturbances in the election of bishops. *Vales.*

in disregard of his sworn pledge to the emperor, procures his own nomination as bishop of the Alexandrians. The emperor, on being informed of these circumstances, commands his expulsion, and, at the suggestion of certain persons, addresses an allocution to the Alexandrians, which he named Henoticon, directing, at the same time, that the see of Alexandria should be restored to Peter, with a stipulation, that he should subscribe this document and admit to communion the party of Proterius.

CHAP. XIII.—PUBLICATION OF THE HENOTICON OF ZENO.

OF this measure of arrangement,¹ framed according to the advice of Acacius, bishop of the imperial city, Pergamius is the bearer, who had been appointed procurator of Egypt. Finding, on his arrival at Alexandria, that John had fled, he addresses himself to Peter, and urges him to receive the allocution of Zeno, and also to admit the separatists. He, accordingly, receives and subscribes the before-mentioned allocution, with a promise also to admit to communion the members of the opposite party. Accordingly, on occasion of a general festival at Alexandria, and the universal acceptance of the so-called Henoticon of Zeno, Peter admits the partisans of Proterius; and, on delivering in the church an address to the people, he reads the allocution of Zeno, as follows.

CHAP. XIV.—THE HENOTICON (INSTRUMENT OF UNION).

“THE emperor Cæsar Zeno, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever worshipful Augustus, to the most reverend bishops and clergy, and to the monks and laity throughout Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis. Being assured that the origin and constitution, the might and invincible defence, of our sovereignty is the only right and true faith, which, through Divine inspiration, the three hundred holy fathers assembled at Nicæa set forth, and the hundred and

¹ Evagrius means the emperor's edict addressed to all the clergy and laity, and exhorting them to embrace unity. It is termed an *oikonomia*, because by a wholesome dispensation, (as at the first blush it appears,) it invites all catholics to one and the same communion, suppressing all mention of the Chalcedon synod.

fifty holy fathers, who in like manner met at Constantinople, confirmed; we night and day employ every means of prayer, of zealous pains and of laws, that the holy catholic and apostolic church in every place may be multiplied, the uncorruptible and immortal mother of our sceptre; and that the pious laity, continuing in peace and unanimity with respect to God, may, together with the bishops, highly beloved of God, the most pious clergy, the archimandrites and monks, offer up acceptably their supplications in behalf of our sovereignty. So long as our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who was incarnate and born of Mary, the holy Virgin, and Mother of God, approves and readily accepts our concordant glorification and service, the power of our enemies will be crushed and swept away, and peace with its blessings, kindly temperature, abundant produce, and whatever is beneficial to man, will be liberally bestowed. Since, then, the irreprehensible faith is the preserver both of ourselves and the Roman weal, petitions have been offered to us from pious archimandrites and hermits, and other venerable persons, imploring us with tears that unity should be procured for the churches, and the limbs should be knit together, which the enemy of all good has of old time been eagerly bent upon severing, under a consciousness that defeat will befall him whenever he assails the body while in an entire condition. For since it happens, that of the unnumbered generations which during the lapse of so many years time has withdrawn from life, some have departed deprived of the laver of regeneration,¹ and others have been borne away on the inevitable journey of man, without having partaken in the Divine communion; and innumerable murders have also been perpetrated; and not only the earth, but the very air, has been defiled by a multitude of blood-sheddings; that this state of things might be transformed into good, who would not pray? For this reason, we were anxious that you should be informed, that we and

¹ To this place of Zeno's edict, Pope Felix alludes, in his epistle to Zeno Augustus; where his words are these "Dolet certè pietas tua, quòd per diuturnos partis alternæ gravesque conflictus, multi ex hoc sæculo videantur ablati, aut baptismatis aut communions expertes;" Your piety doubtless is grieved, that by reason of the long and sore conflicts of each party, many may seem to have been taken out of this world, without being made partakers of baptism or the holy communion. *Valeat.*

the churches in every quarter neither have held, nor do we or shall we hold, nor are we aware of persons who hold, any other symbol, or lesson, or definition of faith or creed, than the before-mentioned holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, which the aforesaid hundred and fifty holy fathers confirmed; and if any person does hold such, we deem him an alien: for we are confident that this symbol alone is, as we said, the preserver of our sovereignty, and on their reception of this alone are all the people baptized when desirous of the saving illumination: which symbol all the holy fathers assembled at Ephesus also followed; who further passed sentence of deposition on the impious Nestorius and those who subsequently held his sentiments: which Nestorius we also anathematize, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above mentioned, receiving at the same time the twelve chapters of Cyril, of holy memory, formerly archbishop of the holy Catholic church of the Alexandrians. We moreover confess, that the only begotten Son of God, himself God who truly assumed manhood, namely, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is con-substantial with the Father in respect of the Godhead, and con-substantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; that He, having descended, and become incarnate of the Holy Spirit and Mary, the Virgin and Mother of God, is one and not two; for we affirm that both his miracles, and the sufferings which he voluntarily endured in the flesh, are those of a single person: for we do in no degree admit those who either make a division or a confusion, or introduce a phantom;¹ inasmuch as his truly sinless incarnation from the Mother of God did not produce an addition of a son, because the Trinity continued a Trinity even when one member of the Trinity, the God-Word, became incarnate. Knowing, then, that neither the holy orthodox churches of God in all parts, nor the priests, highly beloved of God, who are at their head, nor our own sovereignty, have allowed or do allow any other symbol or definition of faith than the before-mentioned holy lesson, we have united ourselves thereto without hesitation. And these things we write not as setting forth a new form of faith, but for your assurance: and every one who has held or holds any other opinion, either at the present or another time, whether

¹ See above, ch. v., and note in loco.

at Chalcedon or in any synod whatever, we anathematize; and specially the before-mentioned Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who maintain their doctrines. Link yourselves, therefore, to the spiritual mother, the church, and in her enjoy the same communion with us, according to the aforesaid one and only definition of the faith, namely, that of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers. For your all holy mother, the church, waits to embrace you as true children, and longs to hear your loved voice, so long withheld. Speed yourselves, therefore, for by so doing you will both draw towards yourselves the favour of our Master and Saviour and God, Jesus Christ, and be commended by our sovereignty."

When this had been read, all the Alexandrians united themselves to the holy catholic and apostolic church.

CHAP. XV. —CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIMPLICIUS AND ZENO

JOHN, however, of whom we have made mention before,¹ having fled from Alexandria, arrives at the ancient Rome, and there causes great stir, by saying that he had been banished from his rightful see for upholding the doctrines of Leo and the council at Chalcedon, and had been superseded by another person, who was their opponent.² Upon this Simplicius, bishop of the elder Rome, writes in alarm to Zeno; who in reply charges John with perjury, and alleges that for this reason and no other he had been ejected from his bishopric.

CHAP. XVI. —DEPOSITION OF CALANDION AND RESTORATION OF PETER THE FULLER.

CALANDION, president of Antioch, writing to the emperor Zeno, and to Acacius, president of Constantinople, terms Peter an adulterer,³ saying that, when he was at Alexandria,

¹ See above, ch. xii

² A similar appeal in an instance of flagrant injustice had been made by the great Athanasius to the Roman see comp. Socrat Eccl. Hist. b. ii. ch. 23.

³ So also Pope Simplicius, in his epistle to Acacius, terms Petrus Mongus, (as Liberatus states in his Breviary, ch. 18,) because he had invaded the Alexandrian church, whilst Timotheus Salophaciolus, who had been legally ordained, was still alive. *Vales*

he had anathematized the council at Chalcedon. He is afterwards condemned to exile at Oasis, on a supposition of having supported Illus,¹ Leontius, and Pamprepius, in their usurpation against Zeno; and Peter the Fuller, the predecessor of Calandion and Stephen, as I have mentioned, recovered his own see.² The latter also subscribed the Henoticon of Zeno, and addressed synodical letters to Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Acacius, president of Constantinople, also entered into communion with him.³ Martyrius, too, bishop of Jerusalem, addressed synodical letters to Peter. Subsequently, certain persons withdrew from communion⁴ with Peter, who in consequence thenceforward openly anathematized the synod at Chalcedon. The news of this circumstance greatly troubled

¹ This was a pretext. The true cause of his being condemned and deposed, was because he would not defend the Chalcedon synod, or acquiesce in Zeno's edict. Gelasius also, in his thirteenth epistle to the Dardani, says, that Calandion was ejected by Zeno, because he had erased his name out of the Dyptichs, and put in that of Leontius instead.

² Peter was ejected out of the see of Antioch a little after the return of Zeno Augustus. One John, whom Peter had ordained bishop of Apamia, invaded his see. (See above, note on ch. 10.) John having been ejected, an Oriental synod ordained Stephen. This Stephen, when he had governed the see of Antioch about a year, was most barbarously murdered by heretics in the church, A. D. 479. Zeno, being highly incensed on account of this murder, sent some persons to Antioch, to revenge this deed, and punish the authors of the sedition. Moreover, to avoid tumults, he commanded Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, to ordain a bishop of Antioch in the imperial city. And this thing, done on account of preserving the ecclesiastical peace, as well the emperor as Acacius excused to Pope Simplicius, promising that in future the ordination of the prelate of Antioch should be made by the comprovincial bishops, according to the prescripts of the canons. Stephanus junior therefore was ordained by Acacius, and after he had sat three years, Calandion was created bishop in his stead by an Oriental synod, A. D. 482.

³ Evagrius alludes to Petrus Mongus; for Acacius never held communion with Petrus Fullo: and was even wont to boast that he had never been joined in communion with him.

⁴ Evagrius gives no reason why these men separated themselves from the communion of Peter Mongus. Valesius explains the story thus: Peter Mongus, after he had been restored to the Alexandrian see upon John's ejection, at first used dissimulation, and sent synodical letters to Acacius and Simplicius, in which he affirmed that he held communion with the synod of Chalcedon. He also admitted those to communion who were of Timotheus Salophaciolus's party. But afterwards, when he had been vexed by the Eutychian monks on account of this dissimulation, he anathematized the Chalcedon synod publicly in the church.

Acacius, and induced him to send persons to gain information on the subject; when Peter, to convince them that he had not so acted, drew up memorials, in which certain persons said, from their own knowledge, that Peter had not done anything of the kind.

CHAP. XVII.—LETTER FROM PETER TO ACACIUS.

THIS Peter never abided by one opinion, being a double-dealer, a waverer, and a time-server, now anathematizing the synod at Chalcedon, at another time recanting, and admitting it with entire assent. Accordingly, the same Peter wrote an epistle to Acacius, president of Constantinople, in the following words: "The most high God will repay your Holiness for the many labours and toils wherewith, during the lapse of time, you have guarded the form of faith of the holy fathers, which you have confirmed by unceasingly proclaiming it; in which form when we found the symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers to be embraced, we were disposed to accord with it; that symbol in which we believed at baptism, and still believe; which also the hundred and fifty holy fathers, who assembled at Constantinople, confirmed. Accordingly, while increasing in your endeavours to guide all aright, you have united the holy church of God, by convincing us by the most powerful proofs that nothing at variance with this was enacted in the holy and general synod held at Chalcedon, but that it accorded with the acts of the holy fathers at Nicæa, and confirmed them. Thus, having discovered no novelty therein, we have of our own free motion accorded our assent and belief. But we are informed that certain monks, envying our brotherly union, have conveyed certain elanders to your holy ears, which have with some difficulty succeeded in embittering the feelings of your Holiness. And, in the first place, it is alleged that we have removed to another place the remains of our sainted father,¹ the blessed archbishop Timotheus, a thing abhorrent to religion and law: and they have

¹ Mongus says this crime was objected against him, that he had removed the relics of Timotheus Salophaciolus to another place. But he neither excuses that fact nor denies it; resting satisfied only in saying this, that that fact was impious in the presence of God and men. For human laws severely punish the disturbers of sepulchres.

further shifted their ground to another charge, in itself incoherent and worse than the former; for how could we possibly have anathematized the synod at Chalcedon, which we had previously confirmed by according to it our belief? But the malignant temper and fickleness of our people are notorious, and cannot but be known to your piety, as well as of those monks who are disposed to innovation; who, in conspiracy with certain ill-designing persons that have broken loose from the church, are endeavouring to draw away the people. Through your prayers we have also devised a discourse of a directly healing tendency, and in no way impugning the synod at Chalcedon, well knowing that its transactions contain no novelty; and, further, for the satisfaction of guileless persons, we have procured those who had united themselves to us, to affirm this point. This mischief,¹ then, by much exertion, I have readily checked: but I make known to your Holiness, that even still the monks who are ever sowing the tares, are not at rest, associating also with themselves, as instruments, persons who were never the inmates of monasteries; but they travel about disseminating various rumours to our disadvantage, and, while they do not allow that we act canonically and in a manner suitable to the holy catholic church of God, but are habituating our people to govern rather than obey us, they are bent on doing whatever is unbecoming the service of God. We doubt not, however, that your Holiness will inform the most sacred master of the world of all these circumstances, and provide that a formulary shall be put forth by his serenity, embracing the necessary matters relating to such a peace of the church as becomes both God and the emperor; so as to lead all to repose on its provisions."

CHAP. XVIII.—FELIX ISSUES A SENTENCE OF DEPOSITION
AGAINST ACACIUS.

JOHN, who had fled to Rome, was urgent on Felix, the successor of Simplicius in that see, respecting the proceedings of Peter, and recommends, according to Zacharias, that an instrument of deposition should be sent to Acacius from Felix,

¹ That is, that crime which was objected against him by some ill-minded persons, namely, that he had rejected and condemned the Chalcedon synod.

on the ground of his communion with Peter : which, however, as being uncanonical,¹ Acacius did not admit, as the same Zacharias writes, on its presentation by certain members of the monastery of the Acoemets, as they are called. Such is the account given by Zacharias ; but he appears to me to have been altogether ignorant of the real transactions, and to have reported merely an imperfect hearsay. I now proceed to give a precise account of the proceedings. On the presentation of libels to Felix by John against Acacius, on the score of irregular communion with Peter, and other uncanonical proceedings, the bishops Vitalis and Misenus are sent by Felix to the emperor Zeno, with a requisition that the authority of the synod at Chalcedon should be maintained, that Peter should be ejected as a heretic, and that Acacius should be sent to Felix to answer for himself to the charges brought against him by John, of whom we have made frequent mention.

¹ In the condemnation and deposition of Acacius, the Greeks found fault chiefly with two things. First, because he had not been condemned and deposed in a synod ; but Pope Felix alone had prefixed his own name before the sentence of deposition. The other thing was, because Acacius, having been neither convicted nor examined according to the ecclesiastical canons, had received a sentence of condemnation. To the former objection those of the Church of Rome returned this answer, that there was no need of a new synod for the condemning of Acacius. For all followers and communicators (that is, those that held communion) with heretics, who had heretofore been condemned by a special sentence, are to be understood as condemned together with the same heretics. But whereas the Greeks complained that Pope Felix had prefixed his own name only before that sentence ; Felix, in the above-mentioned letter, answers this objection thus : " Whence being at this present convened before the blessed apostle Peter on account of the Antiochian church, we have again hastened to show your love the usage which has always obtained amongst us. As often as the lords the prelates are convened within Italy on account of ecclesiastical causes, especially of the faith, an usage is retained, that the successor of the prelates of the apostolic see, in the name or person of all the prelates of all Italy, agreeable to the care of all the churches appertaining to them, should ordain all things." Pope Julius had said the same long before Felix, in his letter to the Orientals, which Athanasius records in his Apologetic. But now, as to the second objection of the Easterns, concerning Acacius's being condemned without any examination, that is sufficiently answered by Pope Gelasius in his epistle to the Orientals, where he says, that " Acacius has detected his own crime in his letters, and having already confessed voluntarily, ought not now to be heard." *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.—INTERFERENCE OF CYRIL THE MONK.

BEFORE, however, they reached the imperial city, Cyril, the superior of the Acoemets,¹ writes to Felix, blaming his tardiness, when so grievous offences were being committed against the right faith ; and Felix writes to Misenus and his associates, that they should take no measures until they had conferred with Cyril, and learnt from him what was best to be done.

CHAP. XX.—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FELIX AND ZENO.

FURTHER commonitories were also addressed to them by Felix ; as also letters to Zeno, concerning both the synod at Chalcedon, and the persecution which Huneric was carrying on in Africa. He also wrote an epistle to Acacius. Zeno wrote in answer, that the concern with which John had filled him, was groundless ; because, having sworn that he would in no way endeavour to insinuate himself into the see of Alexandria, and having subsequently violated these terms and disregarded his oath, he had been guilty of the extreme of sacrilege : that Peter had not been appointed without being tested, but had with his own hand subscribed his reception of the faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who met at Nicæa, which the holy synod at Chalcedon also followed. Part of the epistle is in these precise words : “ You ought to be assured that our piety, and the before-mentioned most holy Peter, and all the most holy churches, receive and revere the most holy synod at Chalcedon, which agreed with the faith of the Nicene synod.”

In the transactions are also contained epistles from the before-mentioned Cyril, and other archimandrites of the imperial city, and from bishops and clergy of the Egyptian province, addressed to Felix against Peter, as being a heretic, and against those who communicated with him. The members of the monastery of the Acoemetæ who came to Felix,

¹ There were two monasteries at Constantinople which were termed the monasteries of the Acœmeti, that, namely, of Bassianus, and that of Dios, so named from their respective founders. But they had the appellation of Acœmeti, or Acœmitæ, given them, because they celebrated the Divine praises night and day, succeeding one another by turns ; inso-much that the community never slept. So in the Western church a continual praising of God is said to have been kept up in some monasteries.

Vales.

further averred against Misenus and his party, that before their arrival at Byzantium, the name of Peter had been read secretly in the sacred diptychs, and since that time without any concealment, and that they had in this way communicated with him. The epistle also of the Egyptians affirmed the same things respecting Peter ; and that John, being orthodox, had been rightfully ordained : that Peter was ordained by two bishops only, maintainers of similar errors with himself : that since the flight of John every species of severity had been inflicted on the orthodox : that all these circumstances had been made known to Acacius by persons who had visited the imperial city ; and that they were convinced that he was in all things acting in union with Peter.

CHAP. XXI.—ACCUSATION OF THE LEGATES BY SIMEON THE MONK, AND THEIR CONSEQUENT DEPRIVATION.

THIS stir was further increased by Simeon, an Acoemet, who had been despatched to Rome by Cyril. He expressly charged Misenus and Vitalis with holding communion with the heretics, by distinctly uttering the name of Peter in the reading of the sacred diptychs ; and affirmed that many simple persons had, on this ground, been beguiled by the heretics, who said that Peter was admitted to the communion even of the Roman see ; and, further, in reply to various interrogatories, Simeon said that Misenus and his party had declined to have communication with any orthodox person, either in person or by letter, or to sift any of the presumptuous attempts upon the right faith. There was also brought forward Silvanus, a presbyter, who had been in company with Misenus and Vitalis at Constantinople, and he confirmed the statement of the monks. There was read, too, a letter from Acacius¹ to Simplicius, to the effect that Peter had been long ago deposed, and had become a child of night. On these grounds Misenus and Vitalis were removed from the priesthood and severed from the holy communion, when a unanimous vote was passed by the synod, in the following terms : “ The church of the Romans does not admit Peter, the heretic, who has also

¹ This letter of Acacius is extant, set forth in Latin amongst the epistles of Pope Simplicius. The same letter is mentioned in Pope Felix's epistle, which contains Acacius's sentence of deposition.

been long ago condemned by the holy see, excommunicated, and anathematized. To whom, if there were no other objection, this is sufficient, namely, that having been ordained by heretics, he could not have authority over the orthodox." The decree also contains what follows: "The mere circumstance shows Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, to have incurred very great responsibility, because, writing to Simplicius and having termed Peter a heretic, he has nevertheless made no such declaration to the emperor: which was his duty, if he were loyal to him. He is, however, more partial to the emperor than to the faith."

Let me now return to the order of events.¹ There is extant an epistle from Acacius to the Egyptian bishops, the clergy, monks, and the people in general, by which he endeavours to heal the existing schism: on which subject he also wrote to Peter, bishop of Alexandria.

CHAP. XXII. — COMMOTION AT ALEXANDRIA ON ACCOUNT OF THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

WHILE the schism at Alexandria was thus at its height, Peter, having again anathematized the tome of Leo, the transactions at Chalcedon, and those who refused to admit the writings of Dioscorus and Timotheus, induced some of the bishops and archimandrites to communicate with him, and failing to prevail upon the others, ejected most of them from their monasteries. On account of these proceedings, Nephalius visited the imperial city, and reported them to Zeno; who, in great vexation, despatches Cosmas, one of his officers, charged to load Peter with menaces, for the enforcement of unity, on the score of his having caused a serious dissension by his harshness. Cosmas returns to the imperial city without accomplishing the object of his mission, having merely restored those who had been ejected, to their monasteries. Subsequently, Arsenius is sent out by the emperor as governor of Egypt and commander of the forces. Arriving at Alexandria in company with Nephalius, he negotiated with a view to

¹ Evagrius here omits to mention the sentence of deposition pronounced against Acacius. The omission probably arose from a feeling of reverence for the Constantinopolitan see: or else, because he had related that fact already from Zacharias Rhetor. See chap. 18.

unity ; but failing to induce persons to acquiesce in his measures, he sends some of them to the imperial city, where, accordingly, many discussions took place in the presence of Zeno : but with no practical result, because the emperor altogether declined agreement with the synod at Chalcedon.

CHAP. XXIII.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS AT CONSTANTINOPLE, ALEXANDRIA, AND ANTIOCH.

At this juncture Acacius departed on the common journey of all men, and is succeeded by Fravitas.¹ On his addressing synodical letters to Peter of Alexandria, the latter replies with a repetition of the former matters respecting the synod at Chalcedon. On the demise of Fravitas, after an episcopate of only four months, Euphemius was ordained as his successor, and is the recipient of the letters of Peter addressed to Fravitas. On discovering the anathema against the transactions at Chalcedon, his feelings were greatly roused, and he broke off from communion with Peter. Both epistles are extant, namely, from Fravitas to Peter, and from Peter to Fravitas ; but I pass them over on account of their length. When, in consequence, Euphemius and Peter were upon the point of coming to open hostility, and summoning synods against each other, these proceedings were prevented by the death of the latter. He is succeeded by Athanasius, who attempted to unite the dissidents ; but without success, since the parties were ranged under differences of opinion.² Subsequently, when despatching synodical letters to Palladius, the successor of Peter³ in the bishopric of Antioch, he took a similar course respecting the synod of Chalcedon ; as did also John, his successor in the see of Alexandria. On the

¹ Theophanes relates that in these letters Fravitas denied that he communicated with Felix, bishop of Rome. He assigns only three months as the period of his continuance in his bishopric.

² There were at Alexandria two sorts of heretics, namely, the Dioscorites and the Esaiani concerning whom Liberatus speaks in his Breviary. The former wholly condemned and anathematized the Chalcedon synod ; but the latter, following Zeno's Henoticon, did not indeed in anywise admit that synod, but yet they did not pronounce an anathema against it. *Vales.*

³ It is uncertain when Peter, bishop of Antioch, died, and whether he survived his namesake of Alexandria or not.

death of Palladius, and the succession of Flavian to the see of Antioch, Solomon, a presbyter of that church, is sent to Alexandria, as the bearer of synodical letters, with the request of an answer from John to Flavian. John is succeeded in the see of Alexandria by another of the same name. Such was the progress of these events down to a certain period of the reign of Anastasius; who had himself ejected Euphemius. I have been compelled thus to detail them continuously, for the sake of perspicuity and a ready comprehension of the whole.

CHAP. XXIV.—DEATH OF ARMATUS.

ZENO, at the instigation of Illus, puts to death Armatus, a kinsman of the empress Verina. When Armatus had been sent against him by Basiliscus, Zeno had succeeded, by bribes, in converting him from a foe into an ally, and had bestowed on his son Basiliscus the rank of Cæsar at Nicæa: but on his return to Constantinople, he procures the assassination of Armatus, and makes his son a priest instead of Cæsar. The latter was afterwards raised to the episcopal dignity.

CHAP. XXV.—INSURRECTION AND DEATH OF THEODORIC.

THEODORIC also, a Scythian, raised an insurrection, and having collected his forces in Thrace, marched against Zeno. After ravaging every place in his march as far as the mouth of the Pontus, he was near taking the imperial city, when some of his most intimate companions were secretly induced to enter into a plot against his life. When, however, he had learnt the disaffection of his followers, he commenced a retreat, and was very soon afterwards numbered with the departed, by a kind of death which I will mention, and which happened thus. A spear, with its thong prepared for immediate use, had been suspended before his tent in barbaric fashion. He had ordered a horse to be brought to him for the purpose of exercise, and being in the habit of not having any one to assist him in mounting, vaulted into his seat. The horse, a mettlesome and ungovernable animal, reared before Theodoric was fairly mounted, so that, in the contest, neither daring to rein back the horse, lest it should come down upon

him, nor yet having gained a firm seat, he was whirled round in all directions, and dashed against the point of the spear, which thus struck him obliquely, and wounded his side. He was then conveyed to his couch, and after surviving a few days, died of the wound.

CHAP. XXVI.—INSURRECTION OF MARCIAN.

SUBSEQUENTLY Marcian had a rupture with Zeno, and attempted to dispute the empire with him. He was the son of Anthemius, who had formerly reigned at Rome, and was allied to Leo, the preceding emperor, having married his younger daughter Leontia. After a severe battle around the palace, in which many fell on both sides, Marcian repulsed his opponents, and would have become master of the palace, had he not let slip the critical moment, by putting off the operation to the morrow.

For the critical season is swift of flight : when it is close upon one, it may be secured ; but should it once have escaped the grasp, it soars aloft and laughs at his pursuers, not deigning to place itself again within their reach. And hence no doubt it is, that statuaries and painters, while they figure it with a lock hanging down in front, represent the head as closely shaven behind ; thus skilfully symbolizing, that when it comes up from behind one it may perhaps be held fast by the flowing forelock, but fairly escapes when it has once got the start, from the absence of anything by which the pursuer might grasp it.

And this was what befell Marcian, when he had lost the moment favourable to his success, and was unable to find it afterwards. For the next day he was betrayed by his own followers, and being completely deserted, fled to the sacred precinct of the divine apostles ; whence he was dragged away by force, and transported to Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Having there joined the society of certain monks, he was afterwards detected in meditating an escape ; and being removed by the emperor to Tarsus in Cilicia, he was shorn, and ordained a presbyter : of all which particulars an elegant narrative has been given by Eustathius the Syrian.

CHAP. XXVII.—INSURRECTION OF ILLUS AND LEONTIUS.

THE same writer states that Zeno also devised innumerable machinations against his mother-in-law Verina, and afterwards sent her away to Cilicia ; and that subsequently, on the assumption of sovereign power by Illus, she removed to what is called the castle of Papirius ; where she died.

Eustathius also narrates with great ability the story of Illus : how he escaped Zeno's plots against him, and how Zeno gave up to capital punishment the man who had been commissioned to murder Illus, rewarding him with the loss of his head for his failure in the attempt. He also appointed Illus commander of the forces of the East, thinking thus to conceal his real designs : but having gained over as partisans Leontius, Marsus, a man of reputation, and Pamprepius, he proceeded to the East.

The same Eustathius then mentions the proclamation of Leontius as emperor, which took place at Tarsus in Cilicia ; and how these persons reaped the fruits of their assumption of power, when Theodoric, a man of Gothic extraction, but illustrious among the Romans, had been sent out against them, with a force composed both of native and foreign troops.

The same author ably depicts the fate of those who were miserably put to death by Zeno in return for their loyalty to him ; and how Theodoric, becoming aware of the evil designs of Zeno, withdrew to the elder Rome. Some, however, say that this was done at the suggestion of Zeno. Having there defeated Odoacer, he made himself master of Rome, and assumed the title of king.

CHAP. XXVIII.—ACCOUNT OF MAMMIANUS AND HIS STRUCTURES.

JOHN the rhetorician writes, that in the time of Zeno, Mammius from an artisan became a person of note and a member of the senate ; and that he built in the suburb of Daphne what is called the Antiphorus, on a site previously planted with vines and suitable for cultivation, directly opposite the public baths ; where there is also the brazen statue inscribed, "Mammius the friend of the city." He also states that he built within the city two basilicas, singularly

beautiful in their design, and embellished with brilliant stonework; and that, as an intervening structure to the two, he raised a Tetrapylum, exquisitely finished both in its columns and its brazen work. The basilicas I have identified, retaining, together with their name, some trace of their former beauty, in the stones from Proconnesus, which form the pavement, but nothing remarkable in their architecture: for, in consequence of the calamities which had befallen them, they had lately been rebuilt, without receiving anything in the way of ornament. Of the Tetrapylum I was not able to detect the slightest vestige.

CHAP. XXIX.—DEATH OF ZENO.—SUCCESSION OF ANASTASIUS.

ON the decease of Zeno, by epilepsy, without issue, after a reign of seventeen years, Longinus his brother, having raised himself to considerable power, hoped to secure the sovereignty, but was, notwithstanding, disappointed of his expectation. For Ariadne bestows the diadem on Anastasius, a person who had not yet attained senatorian rank, but belonged to the corps of the Silentaries.

Eustathius writes, that two hundred and seven years elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Diocletian to the death of Zeno and the nomination of Anastasius; five hundred and fifty-two years and seven months from the time that Augustus obtained the supreme power; eight hundred and thirty-two years and seven months from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian; one thousand and fifty-two years and seven months from the reign of Romulus; one thousand six hundred and eighty-six years and seven months from the taking of Troy.

This Anastasius, being a native of Epidamur, now called Dyrrachium, both succeeds to the sovereignty of Zeno and espouses his wife Ariadne. In the first place, he dismisses to his native country Longinus, the brother of Zeno, who held the post of Master of the Offices, formerly termed commander of the household troops; and afterwards, many other Isaurians at their own request.

CHAP. XXX.—DIVISIONS IN THE CHURCH.

THIS Anastasius, being of a peaceful disposition, was altogether averse to the introduction of changes, especially in

the state of the church, but endeavoured by every means, that the most holy churches should continue undisturbed, and the whole body of his subjects enjoy profound tranquillity, by the removal of all strife and contention from matters both ecclesiastical and civil. During these times, accordingly, the synod of Chalcedon was neither openly proclaimed in the most holy churches, nor yet was repudiated by all ; but the bishops acted each according to his individual opinion. Thus, some very resolutely maintained what had been put forth by that synod, and would not yield to the extent of one word of its determinations, nor admit even the change of a single letter, but firmly declined all contact and communion with those who refused to admit the matters there set forth. Others, again, not only did not submit to the synod of Chalcedon and its determinations, but even anathematized both it and the tome of Leo. Others, however, firmly adhered to the Henoticon of Zeno, and that too although mutually at variance on the point of the single and double nature ; some being caught by the artful composition of that document ; and others influenced by an inclination for peace. Thus the churches in general were divided into distinct factions, and their presidents did not even admit each other to communion.

Numerous divisions, hence arising, existed in the East, in the West, and in Africa ; while the Eastern bishops had no friendly intercourse with those of the West and Africa, nor the latter with those of the East. The evil too became still more monstrous, for neither did the presidents of the Eastern churches allow communion among themselves, nor yet those who held the sees of Europe and Africa, much less with those of remote parts.

In consideration of these circumstances, the emperor Anastasius removed those bishops who were promoters of change, wherever he detected any one either proclaiming or anathematizing the synod of Chalcedon in opposition to the practice of the neighbourhood. Accordingly, he rejected from the see of the imperial city, first, Euphemius, as has been already mentioned,¹ and afterwards Macedonius, who was succeeded by Timotheus ; and Flavian from the see of Antioch.

¹ See above, ch. 23.

CHAP. XXXI.—LETTER TO ALCISON FROM THE MONKS OF PALESTINE.

THE monastic body in Palestine, writing to Alcison¹ concerning Macedonius and Flavian, express themselves thus: "On the death of Peter,² they were again separated, but Alexandria, Egypt, and Africa remained at unity among themselves; as, on the other hand, did the rest of the East; while the churches of the West refused to communicate with them on any other terms than the anathematizing of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, including also Peter, surnamed Mongus, and Acacius. Such, then, being the situation of the churches throughout the world, the genuine followers of Dioscorus and Eutyches were reduced to a very small number; and when they were upon the point of disappearing altogether from the earth, Xenaias, who was truly a stranger to God, with what object we know not, or pursuing what enmity towards Flavian, but under colour of defending the faith, as is generally said, begins to raise a stir against him, and to calumniate him as being a Nestorian. When, however, he had anathematized Nestorius and his notion, Xenaias transferred his attacks from him to Dioscorus and Theodore, Theodoret, Ibas, Cyrus, Eleutherius, and John; and we know not whom besides and whence he mustered them: some of whom really maintained the opinions of Nestorius, but others, having been suspected, anathematized him, and departed in the communion of the church. 'Unless,' said he, 'thou shalt anathematize all these, as holding the opinions of Nestorius, thou art thyself a Nestorian, though thou shouldest ten thousand times anathematize him and his notion.' He also endeavoured by letters to induce the advocates of Dioscorus and Eutyches to take arms with him against Flavian, not however with a view of exacting from him an anathema upon the synod, but merely on the before-mentioned persons. But when the bishop Flavian had maintained a prolonged

¹ This Alcison was bishop of Nicopolis, which is the metropolis of old Epirus; he was one of the chief defenders of the Chalcedonian synod. He died in the year of Christ 516. See Baronius, A. D. 516.

² There were two Peters at the same time, the one bishop of Alexandria, the other of Antioch; it is uncertain which of these two is here meant. Valerius, however, thinks it more probable that Peter of Alexandria is intended; because the monks immediately afterwards speak of Alexandria, Egypt, and Libya.

resistance to them, and other persons had united with Xenaias against him, namely, Eleusinus, a bishop of Capadocia Secunda, Nicias, of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other quarters, the motive of whose spite against Flavian it is the province of others, not of ourselves, to detail; at last, in hope of peace, he yielded to their contentious spirit, and having in writing anathematized the before-mentioned persons, he despatched the instrument to the emperor, for they had stirred up him also against Flavian as a maintainer of the opinions of Nestorius. Xenaias, not contented with this, again demands of Flavian that he should anathematize the synod itself, and those who maintained two natures in the person of the Lord, namely, the flesh and the Godhead; and on his refusal, again accused him of being a Nestorian. After much stir upon this subject, and after the patriarch had put forth an exposition of faith, in which he confessed that he admitted the synod as far as regards the deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, not however as defining and teaching the faith; they again impugn him as secretly holding the opinions of Nestorius, unless he would further anathematize the synod itself, and those who maintained two natures in the person of the Lord, the flesh and the Godhead. They also win over to their side the Isaurians, by various deceitful expressions, and having drawn up a formulary of faith in which they anathematize the synod together with those who maintained the two natures or persons, they separate themselves from Flavian and Macedonius, but unite with others on their subscribing the formulary. At the same time they also demanded of the bishop of Jerusalem a written statement of faith; which he put forth, and sent to the emperor by the hands of the party of Dioscorus. This they present, containing an anathema upon those who maintained the two natures. But the bishop of Jerusalem himself, affirming that it had been forged by them, puts forth another without such anathema. And no wonder. For they have often forged discourses of the fathers, and to many writings of Apollinaris they have attached titles assigning them to Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Julius; their principal object in so doing being to draw over the multitude to their own impieties. They also demanded of Macedonius a written statement of faith; who put one forth, affirming that he recognised

only the creed of the three hundred and eighteen, and of the one hundred and fifty fathers, anathematizing at the same time Nestorius, Eutyches, and those who held the doctrine of two sons or two Christs, or divided the natures; making, however, no mention of the synod of Ephesus, which deposed Nestorius, nor that of Chalcedon, which deposed Eutyches. Indignant at this, the monastic bodies about Constantinople separate from their bishop Macedonius. In the mean time Xenaias and Dioscorus, associating with them many of the bishops, became insufferable, from the stir which they raised against those who refused to anathematize; and, by various devices, they endeavoured to procure the banishment of those who persisted in their refusal. In this way, accordingly, they banish both Macedonius, and John, bishop of Paltus, and Flavian."

Such are the contents of the letter.

CHAP. XXXII.—EJECTION OF MACEDONIUS AND FLAVIAN FROM THEIR SEES.

THERE were other things which caused secret vexation to Anastasius. For when Ariadne was desirous of investing him with the purple, Euphemius, who held the archiepiscopal see, withheld his approval, until Anastasius had presented to him an agreement, written with his own hand, and secured with fearful oaths, that he would maintain the faith inviolate, and introduce no innovation into the holy church of God, in case he should obtain the sceptre: which document he also deposited with Macedonius, the keeper of the sacred treasures. This measure he adopted, because Anastasius had generally the reputation of holding the Manichæan doctrine. When, however, Macedonius ascended the episcopal throne, Anastasius was desirous that the agreement should be returned to him, affirming it to be an insult to the imperial dignity, if the before-mentioned document, in his own hand-writing, should be preserved: and when Macedonius resolutely opposed the demand, and firmly protested that he would not betray the faith, the emperor pursued every insidious device for the purpose of ejecting him from his see. Accordingly, even boys were brought forward as informers, who falsely accused both themselves and Macedonius of infamous practices. But when

Macedonius was found to be emasculate, they had recourse to other contrivances; until, by the advice of Celer, commander of the household troops, he secretly retired from his see.

With the ejection of Flavian, other circumstances are associated. For we have met with some very aged men who remembered all the events of this time. These say, that the monks of the district called Cynegica,¹ and of the whole of Syria Prima, having been wrought upon by Xenaias, who was bishop of the neighbouring city of Hierapolis, and who was named in Greek Philoxenus, rushed into the city in a body with great noise and tumult, endeavouring to compel Flavian to anathematize the synod of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo. Roused at the indignation manifested by Flavian, and the violent urgency of the monks, the people of the city made a great slaughter of them, so that a very large number found a grave in the Orontes, where the waves performed their only funeral rites. There happened also another circumstance of scarcely less magnitude than the former. For the monks of Cœle Syria, now called Syria Secunda, from sympathy with Flavian, since he had led a monastic life in a monastery of the district called Tilmognon, advanced to Antioch, with the intention of defending him. From which circumstance, also, no inconsiderable mischief arose. Accordingly, on the ground either of the former or latter occurrence, or both, Flavian is ejected, and condemned to reside at Petra, on the extreme verge of Palestine.

CHAP. XXXIII.—SEVERUS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

FLAVIAN having been thus ejected, Severus ascends the episcopal throne of Antioch, in the five hundred and sixty-first year of the era of that city,² in the month Dios, the sixth year of the Indiction;³ the year in which I am now writing

¹ Nicephorus (b. xvi. ch. 27) thought there was a monastery so named from one Cynegius, its founder. But Valesius is of opinion that a district of Syria was so termed, in which there were many monasteries.

² This was the year of Christ 513. For the first year of the Antiochians preceded the vulgar era of our Lord's nativity by 48 years. See above, b. ii. ch. 12, note.

³ The literal meaning of these words is as follows, "In the sixth year of the indictional circle which then was." An indiction is a circle of fifteen years, after the ending of which another circle begins of as many

being the six hundred and forty-first of that era. He was a native of Sozopolis, a city of Pisidia, and had applied himself to the profession of a pleader at Berytus; but immediately on his abandoning the practice of the law, having participated in holy baptism in the sacred precinct of the divine martyr Leontius, who is revered at Tripolis, a city of Phœnicia Maritima,¹ he assumed the monastic life in a certain monastery situated between the city of Gaza and the town called Majumas; in which latter place Peter the Iberian,² who had been bishop of the same Gaza, and had been banished with Timotheus Ælurus, passed through the same discipline, and left behind him a famous memory. Severus there engages in a discussion with Nephalius, who had formerly sided with him on the question of the single nature, but had subsequently been one of the synod at Chalcedon, and among those who held the opinion of two natures in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ; and he is, in consequence, expelled from his own monastery by Nephalius and his party, together with many others who held similar doctrines. Thence he proceeds to the imperial city, to plead the cause of himself and those who had been expelled with him, and thus obtains the notice of the emperor Anastasius, as is narrated by the author of the Life of Severus.

Accordingly, Severus, in issuing synodical letters, expressly anathematized the synod at Chalcedon; on which point the letters addressed to Alcison speak as follows. "The synodical letters³ of Timotheus of Constantinople were admitted here in Palestine, but the deposition of Macedonius

years. Evagrius terms the partition of the circle of fifteen years, ἐπινεμησιν τοῦ κύκλου, which the Latins call an indiction. Evagrius has expressed himself in the same manner before, b. ii. ch. 12; where he speaks concerning the earthquake, which happened at Antioch in the times of Leo Augustus. *Vales.*

¹ There were two districts called by this name, Phœnice the one which lay by the sea-coast, the metropolis of which was Tyre; the other named Libanensis, and its chief city was Emesa.

² Concerning this Petrus Iberus, Evagrius has spoken already, b. ii. ch. 8.

³ Theophanes says that Timotheus sent his synodical letters, and the deposition of Macedonius, to all the bishops, that they might subscribe to them; and that the weaker persons amongst them, through fear of the emperor, subscribed to each libel, but that those who were more courageous, would subscribe to neither. And that some, taking a middle way, subscribed to the synodical letters, but would not subscribe to the deposition of Macedonius. Amongst these persons who took the middle way, were the bishops of Palestine, as the monks here testify. *Vales.*

and Flavian was not admitted, nor yet the synodical letters of Severus ; but the bearers were put to flight, with the ignominy and insult which they deserved, by the people and monks of the city, who rose upon them. Such was the situation of matters in Palestine. But of the bishops subject to Antioch,¹ some were carried away into compliance, among whom was Marinus, bishop of Berytus ; others by force and compulsion concurred in the synodical letters of Severus, which included an anathema, both on the synod and all others who affirmed two natures or persons in the Lord, namely, the flesh and the Godhead ; and others, after having concurred by compulsion, recalled their assent, and among them the bishops subject to Apamea ; others, again, altogether refused concurrence, among whom were Julian, bishop of Bostra, Epiphanius of Tyre, and some others, as is said. But the Isaurian bishops, having returned to their sober senses, are now condemning themselves for the error into which they had been beguiled, and are anathematizing Severus and his party. Others of the bishops and clergy subject to Severus have abandoned their churches, and among them Julian of Bostra, and Peter of Damascus, who are now living in these parts, as also Mamas. This latter is one of those two who seemed to be the chiefs of the followers of Dioscorus, by whose means also Severus obtained his dignity : but he now condemns the arrogance of that party." And presently the letter proceeds : "The monasteries in these parts and Jerusalem itself are, with the aid of God, unanimous respecting the right faith, and very many cities besides, together with their bishops, for all of whom, and for ourselves, pray thou that we may not enter into temptation, our most holy lord and honoured father."

¹ The monks of Palestine do not speak of Antioch here, but of the bishops who were subject to the see of Antioch. For, having before spoken concerning the affairs of Palestine, which were subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem, they now pass to the bishops of the East, who were under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch ; and, in the first place, they name Marinus bishop of Berytus, which was a city of Phœnice. Now Phœnice was under the Antiochian patriarch, according as it had been agreed in the Chalcedon synod.

CHAP. XXXIV.—ACT OF DEPOSITION AGAINST SEVERUS.

SINCE, then, these letters state, that the priests subject to Apamea¹ had separated from Severus, let me now add a circumstance transmitted to us from our fathers, although it has not hitherto found a place in history. Cosmas, bishop of my native place, Epiphanea, which stands on the Orontes, and Severian, bishop of the neighbouring city of Arethusa, being troubled at the synodical letters of Severus, and having withdrawn from his communion, despatched an instrument of deposition to him, while still bishop of Antioch. They intrust the document to Aurelian, chief of the deacons at Epiphanea, and he, through dread of Severus and the majesty of so great a bishopric, on his arrival at Antioch puts on a female dress, and approaches Severus with delicate carriage and the entire assumption of a woman's appearance. Letting his vail fall down to his breast, with wailing and deep-drawn lamentation he presents to Severus, as he advanced, the instruments of deposition in the guise of a petition: he then passes unobserved from among the attendant crowd and purchased safety by flight, before Severus had learned the purport of the document. Severus, having received the document and learned its contents, continued, nevertheless, in his see, until the death of Anastasius.

On being informed of these transactions, for I must record the benevolent measure of Anastasius, he directs Asiaticus, who was commander in Phœnicia Libanensis, to eject Cosmas and Severian from their sees, because they had sent the instrument of deposition to Severus. Finding, on his arrival in the East, that many adhered to the opinions of those bishops, and that their cities resolutely upheld them, he reported to Anastasius that he could not eject them without bloodshed. So great then was the humanity of Anastasius, that he wrote in express terms to Asiaticus, that he did not desire the accomplishment of any object, however important and illustrious, if one drop of blood was to be shed.

Such, then, was the situation of the churches throughout the world down to the reign of Anastasius; whom some, treating him as an enemy to the synod at Chalcedon, erased

¹ Apamea was the metropolis of Syria Cœle, or Syria Secunda, to which Epiphania and Arethusa were subject.

from the sacred diptychs; and he was also anathematized at Jerusalem even during his life-time.

CHAP. XXXV.—SUPPRESSION OF THE ISAURIAN
INSURRECTION.

It will not be inconsistent, if, in accordance with the promise which I originally made,¹ I insert in my narrative the other circumstances worthy of mention which occurred in the time of Anastasius.

Longinus, the kinsman of Zeno, on his arrival at his native country, as has been already detailed, openly commences war against the emperor; and after a numerous army had been raised from different quarters, in which Conon, formerly bishop of Apamea in Syria, was also present, who, as being an Isaurian, aided the Isaurians, an end was put to the war by the utter destruction of the Isaurian troops of Longinus. The heads of Longinus and Theodore were sent to the imperial city by John the Scythian; which the emperor displayed on poles at the place called Sycæ, opposite Constantinople, an agreeable spectacle to the Byzantines, who had been hardly treated by Zeno and the Isaurians. The other Longinus, surnamed of Selinus, the mainstay of the insurgent faction, and Indes, are sent alive to Anastasius by John, surnamed Hunchback; a circumstance which especially gladdened the emperor and the Byzantines, by the display of the prisoners led in triumph along the streets and the hippodrome, with iron chains about their necks and hands. Thenceforward, also, the payment called Isaurica accrued to the imperial treasury, being gold previously paid to the barbarians annually, to the amount of five thousand pounds.

CHAP. XXXVI.—INVASION OF THE ARABS.

THE Scenite² barbarians also insulted the Roman empire; not, however, to their own advantage; by plundering Mesopotamia, either Phœnicia, and Palestine. After having been

¹ See book i. chap. 1.

² The Saracens, called *σκηνῖται*, (Scenitæ,) from dwelling in tents, *σκηναί*.

everywhere chastised by the commanders, they subsequently continued quiet, and universally made peace with the Romans.

CHAP. XXXVII.—CAPTURE OF AMIDA. FOUNDED OF DARAS.

THE Persians too, having, in violation of treaties, marched beyond their own territories under their king Cabades, first attacked Armenia, and having captured a town named Theodosiopolis, reached Amida, a strong city of Mesopotamia, which they took by storm; and which the Roman emperor subsequently restored by great exertions.

If any one is inclined to learn the particulars of these transactions, and to trace the whole minutely, a very able narrative, a work of great labour and elegance, has been composed by Eustathius; who, after having brought down his history to this point, was numbered with the departed; closing with the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius.

After the close of this war, Anastasius founds a city on the spot called Daras, in Mesopotamia, situated near the limits of the Roman dominion, and, as it were, a border-point of the two empires. He surrounds it with strong fortifications, and embellishes it with various stately erections, both of churches and other sacred buildings, basilicas, public baths, and other ornaments of distinguished cities. The place is said by some to have obtained the name of Daras, because there Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, utterly defeated Darius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—THE LONG WALL.

By the same emperor was raised a vast and memorable work called the Long Wall, in a favourable situation in Thrace, distant from Constantinople two hundred and eighty stadia. It reaches from one sea to the other, like a strait, to the extent of four hundred and twenty stadia; making the city an island, in a manner, instead of a peninsula, and affording a very safe transit, to such as choose, from the Pontus to the Euxine Sea. It is a check upon the inroads of the barbarians from the Euxine, and of the Colchians from the Palus Mæotis, and from beyond the Caucasus, as well as of those who have made irruptions from Europe.

CHAP. XXXIX.—ABOLITION OF THE CHRYSARGYRUM.

THE same emperor completed an extraordinary and divine achievement, namely, the entire abolition of the tax called chrysargyrum; which transaction I must now detail, though the task needs the eloquence of Thucydides, or something still more lofty and graceful. I will, however, myself describe it, not in reliance upon powers of language, but encouraged by the nature of the action.

There was imposed upon the Roman commonwealth, so singular in its magnitude and duration, a tax vile and hateful to God, and unworthy even of barbarians, much more of the most Christian empire of the Romans: which, having been overlooked, from what cause I am unable to say, until the time of Anastasius, he most royally abolished. It was imposed, both on many other classes of persons who procured their livelihood by an accumulation of petty gains, and also upon women who made a sale of their charms, and surrendered themselves in brothels to promiscuous fornication in the obscure parts of the city; and besides, upon those who were devoted to a prostitution which outraged not only nature but the common weal: so that this mode of revenue proclaimed, as distinctly as a direct enactment, that all who chose, might practise such wickedness in security. The impious and accursed revenue raised from this source, the collectors paid at the end of every five years into the hands of the first and most dignified of the prefects:¹ so that it formed no unimportant part of the functions of that office, and had its separate exchequer, and accountants, men who regarded the business as a mili-

¹ By these words Evagrius seems to mean the prætorian prefecture; for that is called by Amm. Marcellinus, *Vertex omnium dignitatum*. To this prefecture therefore the tribute called *Chrysargyrum* was brought in every fourth year. Whether it ought to be called a tribute, or rather a toll or tax, is uncertain. Evagrius terms it *τέλος*, which is *vectigal*, a toll, or tax. The old author of the Questions on the Old and New Testament tells us that it was usually termed *aurum pœnosum*, the punishing gold. Amongst the officials of the præfectus prætorio, four *Numerarii* are reckoned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*; the first of whom was the Numerarius of the gold, that is, of the *Aurum Lustrale*, or *Chrysargyrum*. There was also amongst the officials a *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, a Primicerius of the Scrinium of the Golden Mass, and a Primicerius of the Scrinium of Gold; perhaps because a certain part of this tax was brought in to the chest of the sacred largesses.

tary service,¹ suited, like the rest, to persons of some distinction.

Anastasius, being informed of the circumstance, laid the matter before the senate, and justly declaring it to be an abomination and unparalleled defilement, decreed that it should be utterly abolished; and committed to the flames the papers which were vouchers for its collection. With the desire also of making this measure a complete sacrifice to God, and of preventing any of his successors from reviving the ancient shame, he puts on the appearance of vexation, and accuses himself of inconsiderateness and excessive folly, saying that in the too eager pursuit of novelty he had neglected the interests of the commonwealth, and had rashly and thoughtlessly abolished so important a revenue, which had been established in former times and confirmed by so long a continuance, without duly weighing the impending dangers, or the expenses necessary for the maintenance of the army, that living bulwark of the empire, nor yet for the service of God. Accordingly, without betraying his secret thoughts, he proclaims his desire to restore the before-mentioned revenue; and having summoned those who had been in charge of the levy, he told them that he repented of the step, but knew not what course to take, or how to rectify his error, now that the papers had been burnt which could be vouchers for the particulars of its exaction. And while they on their part lamented the abolition of the levy, not in semblance but in reality, on account of the unrighteous gain which had thence accrued to them, and were professing the same perplexity as the emperor, he urged and exhorted them to employ every mode of search, in the endeavour to procure from among documents preserved in various quarters, a statement of the entire levy. Supplying each individual with money, he despatched him to collect materials, enjoining him to bring every paper which threw light upon this matter wherever it might be found; that by means of the utmost circumspection and minute attention, a statement of the business might be again put together. Accordingly, on the return of those who were engaged in the execution of these orders, Anastasius put on a pleased and gladsome appearance, and was in reality rejoiced in having compassed the object on which he was bent. He also made particular in-

¹ See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. b. x. ch. 8.

quiries both how they were discovered and in whose possession, and whether anything of the same kind was still remaining ; and on their affirming that they had expended great pains upon the collection, and swearing by the emperor himself, that no other paper which could be a voucher was preserved throughout the whole empire, Anastasius again lighted up a great pile with the papers thus produced, and drenched the ashes with water, with the intention of removing every trace of this levy ; so that there might appear neither dust, nor ashes, nor any remnant whatever of the business, through imperfect combustion.

In order, however, that, while we are thus extolling the abolition of this impost, we may not seem to be ignorant how much has been written under passionate feelings on the subject by former authors, let me produce these matters, and show their falsehood, and that more especially from their own statements.

CHAP. XL.—FALSEHOODS OF THE HISTORIAN ZOSIMUS.

ZOSIMUS, a follower of the accursed and foul religion of the Greeks, in his anger against Constantine, because he was the first emperor that had adopted Christianity, abandoning the abominable superstition of the Greeks, says, that he was the person who devised the tax called Chrysargyrum, and enacted that it should be levied every five years. He has on many other grounds also reviled that pious and magnificent monarch ; for he affirms that he contrived many other intolerable proceedings against every class of persons ; that he miserably destroyed his son Crispus, and made away with his wife Fausta by enclosing her in an overheated bath ; and that, after having in vain endeavoured to procure purification from murders so detestable at the hands of the priests of his own religion, (for they plainly declared its impossibility,) he met with an Egyptian who had come from Iberia ; and, having been assured by him that the faith of the Christians had the power of blotting out every sin, he embraced what the Egyptian had imparted to him, and thenceforward abandoning the faith of his fathers, he made the commencement of his impiety. The falsehood of these assertions I will forth-

with show, and in the first place treat of the matter of the Chrysargyrum.

CHAP. XLI.—REFUTATION OF ZOSIMUS.

THOU sayest, O evil and malignant demon, that Constantine, wishing to raise a city equal to Rome, first made a commencement of so vast a place by laying strong foundations and erecting a lofty wall between Troas and Ilium; but when he had discovered in Byzantium a more suitable site, he in such fashion encircled the place with walls, so far extended the former city, and embellished it with buildings so splendid, as hardly to be surpassed by Rome itself, which had received gradual increase through so long a course of years. Thou sayest also that he made a distribution of provisions at the public cost to the people of Byzantium, and bestowed a very large sum of gold upon those who had accompanied him thither, for the erection of private houses. Again, thou writest to the following effect: that on the decease of Constantine, the imperial power came into the hands of Constantius, his only surviving son after the death of his two brothers; and that when Magnentius and Vetranio had assumed the sovereignty, he wrought upon the latter by persuasives: and when both armies had been mustered, Constantius, addressing them first, reminded the soldiers of the generosity of his father, with whom they had served through many wars, and by whom they had been distinguished by the most liberal gifts; and that the soldiers, on hearing this, stripped Vetranio of his imperial robe, and made him descend from the tribunal into a private station; and that he suffered no unkindness at the hands of Constantius, who has shared with his father in so much of thy calumny. How thou canst then maintain that the same person could be so liberal, so munificent, and at the same time so paltry and sordid, as to impose so accursed a tax, I am utterly unable to comprehend.

In proof that Constantine did not destroy Fausta or Crispus, nor was on that account initiated by an Egyptian into our mysteries, listen to the history of Eusebius Pamphili, who was contemporary with Constantine and Crispus, and had intercourse with them. For what thou writest, so far from being truth, was not even contemporary hearsay, since thou livedst

long after, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius—to which period thou hast brought down thy history¹—or even after their time. Eusebius, in the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History,² has the following words: “After no very long interval, the emperor Constantine, having maintained a disposition remarkable for gentleness in respect to his whole life, kindness towards his subjects, and favour towards the Divine word, closes his life by the common laws of nature, leaving behind him, as emperor and Augustus in his own room, a legitimate son, Constantius.” And further on he says: “His son Constantius, having at the very commencement of his reign been proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus by the armies, and long before by God himself, the universal Sovereign, showed himself an imitator of his father’s piety as respects our faith.” And at the end of the history³ he expresses himself in the following terms: “The mighty, victorious Constantine, distinguished by every religious excellence, in conjunction with his son Crispus, a sovereign highly beloved of God, and resembling his father in all things, obtained his rightful possession of the East.” Eusebius, who survived Constantine, would never have praised Crispus in these terms, if he had been destroyed by his father. Theodoret, in his History,⁴ says that Constantine partook in the saving baptism at Nicomedia, near the close of his life, and that he had deferred the rite till this period, from a desire that it should be performed in the river Jordan.

Thou sayest, O most detestable and polluted one, that the Roman empire from the time of the appearance of Christianity fell away and was altogether ruined: either because thou hast not read any of the older writings, or because thou art a traitor to the truth. For, on the contrary, it clearly appears that the Roman power increased together with the spread of our faith. Consider, for instance, how, at the very time of the sojourn of Christ our God among mankind,⁵

¹ Zosimus brought down his work to the taking of Rome by Alaric; according to Suidas, he lived in the reign of Anastasius.

² Compare ch. 13, from which the reader will be able to correct Evagrius here.

³ Ibid. b. x. ch. 9.

⁴ See Theod. Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 32.

⁵ Macedonia had been subdued by the Romans, and the Albani, Iberi, and Colchi had been conquered by them long before the birth of Christ.

the greater part of the Macedonians were crushed by the Romans, and Albania, Iberia, the Colchians, and Arabians were subjugated. Caius Cæsar also, in the hundred and eighty-first Olympiad, subdued in great battles the Gauls, Germans, and Britons, and thereby added to the Roman empire the inhabitants of five hundred cities; as has been recorded by historians. He also was the first who attained to sole sovereignty since the establishment of consuls, thereby preparing a way for the previous introduction of a reverence for monarchy, after the prevalence of polytheism and popular rule, on account of the monarchy of Christ which was immediately to appear. A further acquisition was also forthwith made of the whole of Judæa and the neighbouring territories; so that it was at this time that the first registration¹ took place; in which Christ also was enrolled, in order that Bethlehem might fulfil the prophecy relating to it; for thus had the prophet Micah spoken respecting that place: "And thou, Bethlehem, territory of Judah, art by no means least among the princes of Judah, for from thee shall come forth a governor who shall feed my people Israel."² Also after the nativity of Christ³ our God, Egypt was added to the Roman dominion; Augustus Cæsar, in whose time Christ was born, having completely overthrown Antony and Cleopatra; who also killed themselves. Upon which Cornelius Gallus is appointed by Augustus governor of Egypt, being the first who ruled that country after the Ptolemies; as has been recorded by historians. To what extent the territories of the Persians were curtailed by Ventidius, Corbulo the general of Nero, Severus, Trajan, Carus, Cassius, Odenatus of Palmyra, Apollonius, and others; and how often Seleucia and Ctesiphon were taken, and Nisibis changed sides; and how Armenia and the neighbouring countries were added to the Roman empire; these matters have been narrated by thyself, as well as by others.

I had, however, nearly forgotten to notice what thou thyself writest respecting the achievements of Constantine, how nobly and courageously he swayed the Roman empire, while professing our religion, and what befell Julian, thy hero and the

¹ See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 5, note. ² Mic. v. 2.

³ Evagrius is mistaken here, for Egypt was reduced into the form of a province about A. D. 20.

votary of thy orgies, who bequeathed to the commonwealth injuries so serious. Whether, however, he has either already received a foretaste of the things which have been foretold concerning the end of the world, or will even receive their full measure, is a question relating to an economy too high for thy comprehension.

Let us, at all events, consider under what circumstances heathen and Christian emperors have respectively closed their reigns. Did not Caius Julius Cæsar, the first sole sovereign, close his life by assassination? In the next place, did not some of his own officers despatch with their swords Caius, the grandson¹ of Tiberius? Was not Nero slain by one of his domestics? Did not Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who reigned in all only sixteen months, suffer a similar fate? Was not Titus, on his attaining the empire, taken off by poison by his own brother Domitian? Was not Domitian himself miserably despatched by Stephanus? What too dost thou say about Commodus? Was not he killed by Narcissus? Pertinax and Julian, did they not meet with the same treatment? Antoninus, the son of Severus, did he not murder his brother Geta, and was himself murdered by Martial? Macrinus too, was he not dragged about Byzantium, like a captive, and then butchered by his own soldiers? And Aurelius Antoninus, the Emesene, was he not slaughtered together with his mother? And his successor Alexander, was he not, together with his mother, involved in a similar catastrophe? What should I say, too, concerning Maximin, who was slain by his own troops? or Gordian, brought to a similar end by the designs of Philip? Tell me whether Philip and his successor Decius did not perish by the hands of their enemies? And Gallus and Volusian by their own armies? Æmilian, was he not involved in the same fate? And Valerian, was he not made prisoner and carried about as a show by the Persians? After the assassination of Gallienus and the murder of Carinus, the sovereignty came into the hands of Diocletian and those whom he chose as his partners in the empire. Of these, Herculius, Maximian, and Maxentius his son, and Licinius utterly perished. But from the time that the renowned

¹ Or rather, nephew. "Germanicus C. Cæsaris pater, Drusi et Minoris Antoniae filius, à Tiberio patruo adoptatus," &c. So speaks Suetonius in the Life of Caius Caligula.

Constantine succeeded to the empire, and had dedicated to Christ the city which bears his name, mark me, whether any of those who have reigned there, except Julian thy hierophant and monarch, have perished by the hands of either domestic or foreign foes, and whether a rival has overthrown any of them; except that Basiliscus expelled Zeno, by whom, however, he was afterwards overthrown and killed. I also agree with thee in what thou sayest about Valens, who had inflicted so many evils upon the Christians: for of any other case not even thou thyself makest mention.

Let no one think that these matters are foreign to an ecclesiastical history; since they are, in fact, altogether useful, and essential, on account of wilful desertion of the cause of truth on the part of heathen writers. Let me now proceed to the rest of the acts of Anastasius.

CHAP. XLII.—THE GOLD-RATE.

THE before-mentioned measures Anastasius successfully carried out in a truly royal spirit; but he adopted others by no means worthy of them; both by devising what is called the gold-rate,¹ and farming out the supplies for the army on terms most burdensome to the provincials.² He also took the levying of imposts out of the hands of the councils of the respective cities, and appointed what are called Vindices, at the suggestion, as is said, of Marinus the Syrian, who held the highest prefecture, termed in former times the Prefect of the Prætorium. The result was that the revenue fell off to a great extent, and the local dignitaries sunk into abeyance: for persons of high families formerly had their names inscribed in the album of

¹ Chrysotelia. Evagrius, contenting himself in setting down the bare name, has omitted to explain the nature of this tribute, nor has any other of the ancient writers made mention of it. Valesius conjectures that the Chrysotelia was a payment in gold, which Anastasius first ordered to be exacted from the provincials instead of the tributary function. For the old Romans were wont to bring in the tributes in the very species themselves, as for instance, wheat, barley, wine, and oil; out of which the military and civil *annona* was distributed. Until the time of Anastasius, by the emperor it had been forbidden that the collectors should exact gold of the provincials instead of the species.

² *συντελῆς*. The provincials who paid tribute are so termed. So Evagrius (b. v. ch. 13) calls the tributaries *τοὺς συντελοῦντας*. Vales.

each city; which regarded those who were members of its council, as a kind of senate.

CHAP. XLIII.—INSURRECTION OF VITALIAN.

VITALIAN, a Thracian by birth, disputes the empire with Anastasius, and having devastated Thrace and Mysia as far as Odessus and Anchialus, was advancing rapidly upon the imperial city, at the head of an innumerable force of Huns. The emperor despatched Hypatius to encounter this force; and, after he had been captured through the treachery of his own troops, and liberated at a large ransom, the conduct of the war was intrusted to Cyril.

The battle which followed was at first indecisive, with several subsequent alternations of success; but, notwithstanding the advantage was on the side of Cyril, the enemy rallied, and he was ultimately routed through the wilful desertion of his own soldiers. In consequence, Vitalian captured Cyril in Odessus, and advanced as far as the place called Sycæ, laying the whole country waste with fire and sword; meditating nothing less than the capture of the city itself and the seizure of the sovereignty. When he had encamped at Sycæ, Marinus the Syrian, whom we have mentioned before, is despatched by the emperor to attack him by sea. The two armaments, accordingly, encountered, the one having Sycæ astern, the other Constantinople. For a time the fleets remained inactive: but, after the skirmishings and discharge of missiles had been followed by a fierce conflict in the place called Bytharia, Vitalian withdraws from the line of battle and takes to flight, with the loss of the greater portion of his fleet. The remainder then fly with such precipitation, that the next day not a single enemy was found in the channel or in the neighbourhood of the city. It is said that Vitalian then continued inactive for some time at Anchialus. There was also another inroad of Huns,¹ who had passed the defiles of Cappadocia.

About the same time Rhodes suffered by a violent earthquake at the dead of night; this being the third time it had been visited by that calamity.

¹ The Huns, having passed the narrow passes near the Caspian Sea, made an irruption into Armenia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, in the consulate of Anthemius and Florentius, A. D. 515.

[EVAGRIUS.]

CHAP. XLIV.—SEDITION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

A VERY great sedition occurred at Byzantium, arising from a wish of the emperor to add to the Trisagion the clause, "Who was crucified for our sakes:" which was regarded as subversive of the Christian religion. Its prime mover and chief was Macedonius, aided by his subject clergy, as Severus says in a letter to Soterichus,¹ which he wrote before his elevation to the episcopal throne, while residing at the imperial city, at the time when, with several others, he had been expelled from his monastery, as I have already mentioned. It was on account of this imputation, in addition to the causes before mentioned, that, in my opinion, Macedonius was ejected from his see. Amid the uncontrollable excitement of the populace which followed, persons of rank and station were brought into extreme danger, and many principal parts of the city were set on fire. The populace, having found in the house of Marinus the Syrian, a monk from the country, cut off his head, saying that the clause had been added at his instigation; and having fixed it upon a pole, jeeringly exclaimed: "See the plotter against the Trinity!"

Such was the violence of the tumult, filling every quarter with devastation, and surpassing every means of control, that

¹ This Soterichus, or Soterichus, had been ordained bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia by Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople. Going over afterwards to the Eutychian party, he joined himself to the impious Xenodas. It is no wonder, therefore, that Severus, a ringleader of the Eutychians, should have written letters to Soterichus, a person like himself, and should in them have accused Macedonius, a catholic bishop, as being the author of the sedition. Severus himself was rather the occasion of this sedition, in that he had persuaded the emperor Anastasius, that to the hymn termed the Trisagium, he should add this clause, "Who hast been crucified for us, have mercy upon us." It is said that Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, had been taught this hymn, termed the Trisagium, by angels. Which, as soon as the priest had approached the altar, the chanter out of the pulpit began to sing, in this manner, ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, "Holy God; Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal." On account of this hymn most violent tumults arose afterwards in the church, when the Easterns would add this clause to it, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, "Who hast been crucified for us," referring it to Jesus Christ. But the Constantinopolitans and the Western church rejected that addition, lest any passion should be attributed to the consubstantial Trinity and in place thereof sang these words, ἅγια ῥοαὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, "Holy Trinity have mercy upon us." Macedonius did right therefore in retaining the usage delivered by Proclus, and refusing to make that addition.

the emperor was driven to appear at the Hippodrome in pitiable guise, without his crown, and despatched heralds to proclaim to the assembled people, that he was most ready to resign his sovereignty; at the same time reminding them, that it was impossible that all should be elevated to that dignity, which admitted not of a plurality of occupants, and that one individual only could be his successor.

At this the temper of the people was suddenly changed, as by some divine impulse; and they begged Anastasius to resume his crown; with a promise of peaceable conduct in future.

Anastasius survived this event a very short time, and departed to the other world after a reign of twenty-seven years, three months, and three days.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.—ACCESSION OF JUSTIN.

AFTER Anastasius had, as I have said, departed for the better lot, Justin, a Thracian by birth, assumes the purple, in the five hundred and sixty-sixth year of the Era of Antioch, on the ninth day of the month Panemus, which the Romans call July. He was proclaimed emperor by the imperial bodyguards, of which he was also the commander, having been appointed prefect of the household troops.¹ His elevation was, however, contrary to all expectation, since there were many most distinguished and flourishing members of the family of Anastasius, possessed also of sufficient influence to have secured for themselves the supreme power.

CHAP. II.—DESIGNS AND DEATH OF AMANTIUS AND THEOCRITUS.

AMANTIUS was the imperial chamberlain, and a man of very great influence; but as it was not lawful for any emasculated person to attain the sovereignty of the Romans, he was de-

¹ Another account is that he was *Comes* of the guards.

sirous that the imperial crown should be given to Theocritus, one of his creatures. He, therefore, sends for Justin, and gives him a large sum of money, with orders to distribute it amongst the persons most fit for this purpose, and able to invest Theocritus with the purple. But with the money he either bought over the people, or purchased the good-will of what are termed the *Excubitores*—for both accounts are given—and so obtained the empire. Soon afterwards he took off Amantius and Theocritus, with some others.

CHAP. III.—ASSASSINATION OF VITALIAN.

JUSTIN sends for Vitalian, who was living in Thrace and who had entertained designs of dethroning Anastasius, to Constantinople: for he dreaded his power, his military experience, his universal renown, and his great desire to possess the sovereignty: and rightly conjecturing that he should not be able to overcome him otherwise than by pretending to be a friend, by way of concealing his guile under a plausible mask, he appoints him commander of one of the bodies called *Præsentes*,¹ and, as a more effectual persuasive, with a view to a still greater deception, he raises him to the consulship. He, being consul elect, was assassinated on visiting the palace, at an inner door,² and thus met with a punishment for his insolence towards the Roman sovereignty. But these events happened subsequently.

¹ There were two armies in the court of the Roman emperor, who were called *Præsentes*, in Greek, τὸ πραισεντρον. These were commanded by two *Magistri Militum*, who were termed in *Præsenti*, or *Præsentalis*. And in the Eastern empire, one of these commanders was a master of foot, the other of horse. But in the Western empire, each of them was a master of horse and foot.

² The Greeks had two gates in their larger edifices. The first of these, which looked towards the street, was termed αὐλαιορ θύρα, the porch gate, as Harpocration informs us in the word αὐλαιορ. the second gate was called μισαυλορ, or μισαύλαιορ, because it was in the midst between the porch and the atrium or court; or else because it was in the middle between the men's apartment and those of the women. Lysius mentions both these gates in his Oration pro Eratosthene de Cæde. The word is also applied to the atrium of a church: thus the Constantinopolitan synod under Menas is said to have been held ἐν τῷ μισαύλῳ τῇ δυνταίῳ, that is, in the Western atrium of the venerable church of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

CHAP. IV.—DEPOSITION OF SEVERUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.
SUCCESSION OF PAUL AND EUPHRASIUS.

SEVERUS, who had been ordained president of Antioch, as stated above,¹ ceased not daily to anathematize the synod at Chalcedon, and chiefly by means of those epistles called Enthronistic,² and in the responses which he sent to all the patriarchs, though they were received only at Alexandria, by John, the successor of the former John, and by Dioscorus and Timotheus:³ which epistles have come down to our time.

Many contentions having thus arisen in the church, whereby the most faithful people were split into factions, Justin, in the first year of his reign, ordered him to be arrested, and to be punished, as some say, by having his tongue cut out; the execution of which sentence was committed to Irenæus, who, at Antioch, held the government of the Eastern provinces.

Severus himself confirms the account of Irenæus being appointed to arrest him, in a letter to some of the Antiochenes, describing the manner of his escape; wherein he casts the strongest invectives on Irenæus, and states that he is under the strictest surveillance lest he should escape from Antioch. Some say that Vitalian, who still appeared to be in the highest favour with Justin, demanded the tongue of Severus, because he had reproached him in his discourses.

Accordingly, he flies from his see, in the month Gorpiaëus, which in the Latin language is called September, in the five hundred and sixty-seventh year of the Era of Antioch. Paul succeeds to the see, with orders⁴ to proclaim openly the synod

¹ See above, book iii. chap. 33.

² This was the name given to the letters which the patriarchs sent one to another at their instalment, in the beginning of their episcopate. There were also enthronistic homilies, or sermons, which the bishops preached to the people at their entrance upon their episcopate. *Vales.*

³ Evagrius means Timotheus bishop of Alexandria, who had succeeded Dioscorus junior in that bishopric, as Liberatus relates, chap. 19. Timotheus bishop of Constantinople cannot be meant here, for Evagrius has said above that Severus' Synodical Letters were embraced and admitted only at Alexandria. *Vales.*

⁴ The emperor Justin, at the beginning of his empire, made a law, that all the bishops should embrace the Chalcedon synod; and that if any one would not embrace it, he should be driven from his see. See Baronius, A. D. 519. Nicephorus is mistaken in thinking that this Paulus was in secret an Eutychian, for the contrary is asserted by the legates

at Chalcedon. Afterwards, retiring voluntarily from Antioch,¹ he went the way of all flesh by a natural death. He is succeeded in his see by Euphrasius from Jerusalem.

CHAP. V.—FIRES AND EARTHQUAKES AT ANTIOCH. DEATH OF EUPHRASIUS.

ABOUT the same period of Justin's reign there happened at Antioch numerous and dreadful fires, as if harbingers of the terrible shocks which afterwards took place, and serving as a prelude for the coming calamities. For, a short time after, in the tenth month of the seventh² year of Justin's reign, being Artemisius or May, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, precisely at noon, on the sixth day of the week, the city was visited with the shock of an earthquake, which very nearly destroyed the whole of it. This was followed by a fire, to share, as it were, in the calamity : for what escaped the earthquake, the fire in its spread reduced to ashes. The damage that the city sustained, how many persons according to probable estimate became the victims of the fire and earthquake, what strange occurrences surpassing the power of words took place, have been feelingly related by John the Rhetorician, who concludes his history with the relation.

Euphrasius also perished in the ruins, to add another misfortune to the city, by leaving no one to provide for its exigencies.

CHAP. VI.—ELEVATION OF EPHRAEMIUS, COUNT OF THE EAST, TO THE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH.

BUT the saving care of God for man, which prepares the remedy before the stroke, and the compassion which, while of the apostolic see in their relation to Pope Hormisdas, which Baronius records, A. D. 519.

¹ Paul was accused by his own clergy, and by some of the people of Antioch, before the legates of the apostolic see, who as yet resided at Constantinople, and after their departure, before the emperor Justinus ; but not able to clear himself of the crimes objected against him, and being vanquished by the testimony of his own conscience, he presented recusatory libels, requesting that he might have leave to retire from the episcopal office which he had undertaken. He was permitted to do so, and then spontaneously withdrew from the sacerdotal function. See Baronius, A. D. 521 *Vales.*

² Evagrius (who is followed by Baronius) is mistaken here ; he should have said the 8th year, as Valesius satisfactorily shows.

sharpening the sword of wrath, at the moment of the deepest despair displays its sympathy, raised up Ephraëmius, at that time governor of the Eastern provinces, to take upon himself all the care of the city ; so that it lacked not anything that its exigency required. On this account the sons of the Antiochenes so admired him, that they elected him their priest : and he thus attains the apostolic see as a reward and prize of his singular care for the place. Thirty months after, the city suffered again from an earthquake.

At this time also, what had been hitherto called the city of Antiochus was entitled the City of God, and received additional care at the hands of the emperor.

CHAP. VII.—MIRACLES OF ZOSIMAS AND JOHN.

Now that I have recorded the above-mentioned calamities, let me also add to the present narrative some other circumstances worthy of record, and which have been transmitted to us from those who have made them a subject of notice.

Zosimas was a native of Sinde, a village of Phœnicia Maritima, distant from Tyre about twenty stadia, and pursued the monastic discipline. He, by means both of abstinence and use of food, having attained to such a union with God as not only to discern forthcoming events, but also to possess the grace of perfect freedom from passion, was in company with a distinguished person from Cæsarea, the capital of one of the Palestines. This was Arcesilaus, a man of good family, accomplished, and high in dignities and whatever gives lustre to life. Zosimas, at the very moment of the overthrow of Antioch, suddenly became troubled, uttered lamentations and deep sighs, and then shedding such a profusion of tears as to bedew the ground, called for a censer, and having fumed the whole place where they were standing, throws himself upon the ground, propitiating God with prayers and supplications. Upon Arcesilaus asking the reason of all this trouble, he distinctly replied, that the sound of the overthrow of Antioch was at that instant ringing in his ears. This led Arcesilaus and the rest of the astonished company to note down the hour ; and they afterwards found that it was as Zosimas had said.

By his hand many other miracles were performed : but

omitting the greater part of them, since they are too numerous to detail, I shall mention a few.

Contemporary with Zosimas, and endued with equal virtues, was a man named John, who had practised the endurance of the solitary and immaterial life in the cloister¹ called Chuzibas, situated at the extremity of the glen at the northern part of the highway leading from Jerusalem to Jericho, and was now bishop of the before-named Cæsarea. This John, the Chuzibite, having heard that the wife of Arcesilaus had lost one of her eyes by a stroke of a spindle, runs immediately to her to see the accident; and when he finds that the pupil is gone and the eye altogether lacerated, he commands one of the physicians in attendance to bring a sponge, and having replaced as well as he could the lacerated parts, to apply and secure the sponge with bandages. Arcesilaus was absent, for he happened to be with Zosimas in his monastery at Sinde, distant from Cæsarea full five hundred stadia. Accordingly, messengers proceeded with all haste to Arcesilaus, whom they found sitting in conversation with Zosimas. When informed of the circumstance, he uttered a piercing cry, tore his hair and cast it towards heaven. Upon Zosimas asking him the reason, he told him what had happened, interrupting his account with frequent wailings and tears. Whereupon Zosimas, leaving him alone, goes to his chamber, where he used to make his addresses to God according to the rule of such persons, and after some interval he approaches Arcesilaus with a solemnly joyous countenance, and gently pressing his hand, said, "Depart with joy, depart. Grace is given to the Chuzibite. Your wife is cured, and is in possession of both her eyes; for the accident has had no power to deprive her of them, since such was the desire of the Chuzibite." This was brought about by the united wonder-working of both the just men.

Again, as the same Zosimas was going to Cæsarea, and leading an ass laden with certain necessities, a lion encountered him and carried off the ass. Zosimas follows into the wood, reaches the place where the lion was, satiated with his meal upon the beast, and smiling, says, "Come, my friend; my journey is interrupted, since I am heavy and far advanced in

¹ A *laura* was nothing else but cells of monks dispersed here and there: see above, b. i. ch. 21, note. This Johannes was first abbot and presbyter of the monastery at Chuziba. He was afterwards made bishop of Cæsarea.

years, and not able to carry on my back the ass's load. You must therefore carry it, though contrary to your nature, if you wish Zosimas to get out of this place and yourself to be a wild beast again." All at once the lion, forgetting his ferocity, fawned on him, and by his gestures plainly manifested obedience. Zosimas then put the ass's load upon him, and led him to the gates of Cæsarea, showing the power of God, and how all things are subservient to man if we live to Him and do not pervert the grace given to us. But that I may not render my history prolix by more circumstances of the kind, I will return to the point whence I digressed.

CHAP. VIII.—GENERAL CALAMITIES.

DURING the reign of Justin, Dyrrachium, formerly called Epidamnus, suffered from an earthquake; as did also Corinth in Greece, and afterwards, for the fourth time, Anazarbus, the capital of Cilicia Minor. These cities Justin restored at great expense. About the same time Edessa, a large and flourishing city of Osroene, was inundated by the waters of the Skirtus, which runs close by it; so that most of the buildings were swept away, and countless multitudes that were carried down by the stream, perished. Accordingly, the names of Edessa and Anazarbus were changed by Justin, and each of them was called, after himself, Justinopolis.

CHAP. IX.—APPOINTMENT OF JUSTINIAN TO A SHARE IN THE EMPIRE.

WHEN Justin had reigned eight years, nine months, and three days, he associated in the government Justinian, his nephew, who was proclaimed on the first of the month Xanthicus, or April, in the five hundred and seventy-fifth year of the era of Antioch. After these transactions, Justin departs his earthly sovereignty, closing his life on the first of the month Lous, or August, having had Justinian for his associate in the empire four months, and reigned in all nine years and three days. Now that Justinian was sole sovereign of the Roman empire, and the synod at Chalcedon was being proclaimed in the most holy churches by the commands of Justin, as stated before; the state of the church was disturbed in

some of the provinces, but chiefly at Constantinople and Alexandria, Anthimus being bishop of the former, and Theodosius of the latter; for both held the doctrine of the single nature of Christ.

CHAP. X.—THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON UPHOLD BY JUSTINIAN.

JUSTINIAN very resolutely upheld the synod at Chalcedon and what was put forth by it; and Theodora, his consort, those who maintained the single nature; either because such were their real sentiments—for when the faith is a matter of dispute, fathers are divided against their children, children against the authors of their birth, a wife against her own husband, and again a husband against his own wife—or by mutual understanding,¹ that he should uphold those who maintained the two natures in Christ our God after the union; and she those who alleged the single nature. Neither conceded to the other: but he strenuously supported the acts at Chalcedon, and she, ranging with the opposite party, exercised the greatest care towards those who maintained the single nature. Our people² she treated with the warmest kindness, and others too with great munificence. She also persuades Justinian to send for Severus.

CHAP. XI.—DEPOSITION OF ANTHIMUS AND THEODOSIUS FROM THEIR SEES.

THERE are letters extant from Severus to Justinian and Theodora, from which we may gather that at first he put off his journey to the imperial city on leaving his see of Antioch. Nevertheless he afterwards arrived there; and has written to the effect that when he came thither and had conversed with Anthimus, and found him holding the same sentiments with himself, and the same opinions with respect to the Godhead, he persuaded him to withdraw from his see. He wrote concerning these matters to Theodosius, bishop of Alexandria,

¹ Κατ' οἰκονομίαν. Literally, by a certain dispensation, opposed to truth, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Some therefore were of opinion, that by fraud and under a colour it had been agreed on between Justinian and Theodora, that the one should adhere to the Catholics, the other to the Acephali.

² That is, not the Catholics, as Nicephorus has taken the words, but the Orientals. *Vales.*

and greatly gloried in having persuaded Anthimus, as stated before, to prefer such doctrines to earthly glory and the possession of his see. Letters are also extant on this subject from Anthimus to Theodosius, and from Theodosius to Severus and Anthimus; which I pass over, leaving them to those who choose to consult them, that I may not include in the present work too great a mass of materials. Nevertheless, both were ejected from their sees, as opposing the imperial mandates and the decrees of Chalcedon. Zoilus¹ succeeded to that of Alexandria, and Epiphanius to that of the imperial city: so that from that time forward the synod at Chalcedon was openly proclaimed in all the churches;² and no one dared to anathematize it; while those who dissented, were urged by innumerable methods to assent to it. Accordingly, a constitution³ was drawn up by Justinian in which he anathematized Severus, Anthimus, and others, and subjected those who held their doctrines to the highest penalties: the effect of which was, that thenceforward no schism remained in any of the churches, but the patriarchs of the several dioceses agreed with each other, and the bishops of the cities followed their respective primates.⁴ Four synods were thus proclaimed

¹ In the place of Theodosius, bishop of Alexandria, Paul was substituted, but being soon ejected, Zoilus was put into his see.

² Concerning this peace and union of the churches which happened after the ordination of Paul bishop of Alexandria, Liberatus says that all the patriarchs at that time embraced and admitted of the Chalcedon synod; that is, in the year of Christ 537. Namely, the bishop of Rome, whose legate, Pelagius, was at Constantinople; Paul, bishop of Alexandria; Ephræmius of Antioch, and Peter of Jerusalem. Paul having at first pretended to assert the true faith, afterwards revolted to the Eutychian heresy. This preaching was usually made in the ambo, or pulpit of the church, by the bishop, or another person deputed by him, whilst the public prayers were performed. We have this information from the letters of the orthodox bishops presented at Constantinople to Pope Agapetus, which states that the emperor made a constitution that the four sacred and holy synods should be preached by the divine preachers in the divine prayers wheresoever performed.

³ Evagrius means Justinian's forty-second Novel, promulgated in the year after Belisarius's consulate. *Vales.*

⁴ The primates or patriarchs of each diocese were called exarchs, as Evagrius has said a little before. Christopherson renders the word archbishops. Primates were often termed archbishops, as Isidorus informs us in the seventh book of his *Origines*, in these words: "The order of bishops is divided into four parts, into patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops. A patriarch in the Greek tongue imports the highest

throughout the churches ; first, that held at Nicæa ; secondly, that at Constantinople ; thirdly, the former one at Ephesus ; and fourthly, that at Chalcedon. A fifth also took place by order of Justinian, concerning which I shall say what is suitable in its proper place, while I weave into my present narrative the several events of the same period which are worthy of notice.

CHAP. XII.—CABADES AND CHOSROES, KINGS OF PERSIA.

THE history of Belisarius has been written by Procopius the Rhetorician. He says that Cabades, king of the Persians, wishing to invest his youngest son Chosroes with the sovereignty, was desirous to have him adopted by the Roman emperor, so that by that means his succession might be secured. But when this was refused, at the suggestion of Proclus, who advised Justinian as his quæstor, they conceived a still greater hatred against the Romans. This same Procopius has, with diligence, elegance, and ability, set forth the events of the war between the Romans and Persians while Belisarius was commander of the forces of the East. The first victory on the side of the Romans which he records, was in the neighbourhood of Daras and Nisibis, under the command of Belisarius and Hermogenes. He subjoins an account of the occurrences in Armenia, and the mischief inflicted on the Romans by Alamundarus, the chieftain of the Scenite¹ barbarians, who captured Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, together with his troops, and afterwards liberated him for a considerable ransom.

CHAP. XIII.—INCURSION OF THE ARABS. SEDITION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

HE also feelingly details the incursion of the before-named Alamundarus and Azarethus into the Roman territory ; and how Belisarius, compelled by his own troops, engaged them in their retreat by the Euphrates, on the eve of Easter day ;

father, because he holds the first, that is, the apostolic place ; as the Roman, the Antiochian, the Alexandrian. Archbishop in Greek is termed the highest of bishops ; for he holds the apostolic place, and presides as well over metropolitans as over bishops." *Vales.*

¹ Or, who dwelt in tents. He means the Saracens.

and how the Roman army was destroyed through their repugnance to the measures of Belisarius ; and how Rufinus and Hermogenes made with the Persians the peace called the perpetual peace.

He subjoins an account of the insurrection of the people at Byzantium, which derived its name from the watchword of the populace : for they entitled it "Nica," because on their assembling they chose this term as the watchword, to know each other. On this occasion Hypatius and Pompeius were compelled by the people to assume the sovereignty. But on the defeat of the populace, both were beheaded by the soldiers at the command of Justinian, and the insurrection was quelled. Procopius states that thirty thousand persons were killed in this disturbance.

CHAP. XIV.—PERSECUTION BY HUNERIC.

THE same writer, when treating of the affairs of the Vandals, has recorded most important occurrences and worthy of perpetual memory, which I now proceed to mention. Huneric, the successor of Genseric, and a professor of the creed of Arius, entertained most cruel intentions against the African Christians, in the endeavour to convert by force the maintainers of the orthodox doctrines to the opinions of the Arians. Those who refused compliance, he destroyed both by fire and various modes of death, and some he deprived of their tongues. The latter, Procopius says that he himself saw, when they had taken refuge at the imperial city, and that he maintained a conversation with them in the same manner as with un-mutilated persons : that their tongues were cut out from the root ; nevertheless their speech was articulate, and they conversed distinctly ;¹ a new and strange marvel, of which also a constitution of Justinian makes mention. Two of these persons lapsed, as Procopius himself writes. For on their desiring commerce with women, they were deprived of their

¹ Mention is made concerning these African confessors, whose tongues Hunericus king of the Vandals had commanded to be cut out, and who afterwards desisted not from speaking, by Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicle, who says that some of them were seen by him. The same is recorded in Victor Thunonensis. See more in Baronius, at the year of Christ 484. *Vales.*

speech, since the grace of their martyrdom had abandoned them.

CHAP. XV.—CABAONES THE MOOR.

HE also relates another wonderful occurrence, wrought by our Saviour God in the case of men, aliens indeed to our religion, who, however, acted with religious reverence. He states that Cabaones was chieftain of the Moors in the neighbourhood of Tripolis. This Cabaones, he says—for it is worth while to use his own words during his able narration of this matter also—this Cabaones, as soon as he learned that the Vandals were marching against him, acted in the following manner. First, he commanded all his subjects to refrain from injustice and all luxurious food, but particularly from commerce with women; and having raised two fortified enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and enclosed the women in the other, threatening death to any man who should approach the women. Afterwards, he sent scouts to Carthage with these instructions: that when the Vandals on their march outraged any temple revered by the Christians, they should note what was being done, and when the Vandals left the place, should, immediately on their departure, treat the sanctuary in a manner directly the reverse. It is mentioned that he further said, that he was ignorant of the God worshipped by the Christians, but it was likely, if he were powerful, as was affirmed, that he would chastise those who outraged him, and defend such as rendered him service. The scouts, therefore, coming to Carthage, continued to watch the preparations of the Vandals, and when the army set forward for Tripolis, they followed it, disguised in a sorry dress. The Vandals, encamping at the close of the first day, introduced their horses and other beasts into the temples of the Christians, and abstained from no species of outrage, but gave way to their usual licence; and beating and severely scourging the priests whom they happened to seize, bid them wait upon them. But as soon as the Vandals had left the place, the scouts of Cabaones did all that had been enjoined them, and immediately cleansed the sanctuaries, sedulously removing the dung and every other defilement: they lighted all the tapers, paid reverent obeisance to the priests,

and saluted them with every kindness; and when they had bestowed money on the beggars who sat round the shrine, they followed the army of the Vandals, who, from this point along the whole line of march, committed the same outrages, while the scouts remedied them. When, however, they were at no great distance, the scouts, proceeding in advance, announced to Cabaones all that had been done by the Vandals and themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were now near. On hearing this, he prepared to engage. By far the greater part of the Vandals, as our author states, were destroyed: some were captured by the enemy, and very few returned home. Such was the misfortune that Thrasamund sustained at the hands of the Moors. He died some time after, having ruled the Vandals for seven and twenty years.

CHAP. XVI.—EXPEDITION OF BELISARIUS AGAINST THE VANDALS.

THE same author writes that Justinian, having, in pity to the Christians in that quarter, professed his intention of undertaking an expedition for their relief, was being diverted from his purpose by the suggestion of John, prefect of the palace, when a dream appeared to him, bidding him not to shrink from the execution of his design; for, by assisting the Christians he would overthrow the power of the Vandals. Being determined by this circumstance, in the seventh year of his reign,¹ he despatches Belisarius, about the summer solstice, to attack Carthage; on which occasion, when the general's ship touched at the shore of the palace, Epiphanius, bishop of the city, offered up appropriate prayers, having previously baptized some of the soldiers and embarked them on board the vessel. He also narrates some circumstances, worthy of record, relating to the martyr Cyprian, in the following words:

“All the Carthaginians especially reverence Cyprian, a holy man, and having erected on the shore, in front of their

¹ There is some uncertainty in the date of this invasion, most of the historians placing it A. D. 534, though Baronius considers that it took place in the preceding year. Valesius is inclined to adopt the former date. We should remark that Justinian's reign is reckoned from the calends of April. If, therefore, we place the Vandalic expedition in Justinian's fourth consulate, it will be the eighth year of his empire.

city, a noble shrine, besides other reverential observances, they celebrate an annual festival, and call it Cypriana; and the sailors are accustomed to call the tempestuous weather which I have before mentioned by the same name as the festival, since it is wont to happen at the time of the year at which the Africans have fixed its perpetual celebration. This temple the Vandals, in the reign of Huneric, took by force from the Christians, and ignominiously expelling the priests, refitted it, as henceforward belonging to the Arians. They say that Cyprian, frequently appearing in a dream to the Africans who were indignant and distressed on this account, told them that there was no occasion for the Christians to be solicitous about him, for in time he would avenge himself; which prediction attained its accomplishment in the time of Belisarius, when Carthage, ninety-five years after its loss, was reduced by him under the Roman power, by the utter overthrow of the Vandals: at which time the doctrine of the Arians was entirely extirpated from Africa, and the Christians recovered their own temples, according to the prediction of the martyr Cyprian."

CHAP. XVII.—TRIUMPH OF BELISARIUS.

THE same author writes as follows. "When Belisarius had subdued the Vandals, he returned to Byzantium, bringing the spoils and prisoners, and among them Gelimer, king of the Vandals. A triumph was granted him, and he carried in procession through the Hippodrome whatever would be an object of wonder. Among these were considerable treasures obtained by Genseric from the plunder of the palace at Rome, as I have already narrated; when Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, emperor of the West, having been both deprived of her husband and subjected to an outrage on her chastity by Maximus, invited Genseric, with a promise of surrendering the city to him; on which occasion, after burning Rome, he conveyed Eudoxia and her daughters to the country of the Vandals. Together with the other treasures, he then carried off all that Titus, the son of Vespasian, had brought to Rome on the capture of Jerusalem; offerings which Solomon had dedicated to God. These Justinian, in honour of Christ our God, sent back to Jerusalem: an act of becoming reverence to the Deity,

to whom they had in the first instance been dedicated. On this occasion, Procopius says that Gelimer, prostrating himself on the ground in the hippodrome, before the imperial throne on which Justinian was sitting to witness the proceedings, made application, in his own language, of the divine oracle: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." (Eccles. i. 2.)

CHAP. XVIII.—ORIGIN OF THE MOORS. MUNIFICENCE OF JUSTINIAN IN AFRICA.

PROCOPIUS mentions another circumstance unnoticed before his time, but one that can scarcely be regarded with sufficient wonder. He states that the Moors of Libya settled in that country after being dislodged from Palestine, and that they are those whom the divine oracles mention as the Gergashites and Jebusites, and the other nations subdued by Joshua the son of Nun. He concludes the entire truth of the story from an inscription in Phœnician characters, which he says that he himself had read, and that it was near a fountain, where were two pillars of white stone on which were engraved these words: "We are those who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun."

Such was the end of these transactions, in Africa becoming again subject to the Romans, and paying, as before, an annual tribute.

Justinian is said to have restored one hundred and fifty cities in Africa, some of which had been altogether, and others extensively ruined; and this he did with surpassing magnificence, in private and public works and embellishments, in fortifications, and other vast structures by which cities are adorned and the Deity propitiated; also in aqueducts for use and ornament, the supply of water having been in some cases conveyed to the cities for the first time, in others restored to its former state.

CHAP. XIX.—EVENTS FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF THEODORIC.

I NOW proceed to relate what occurred in Italy; events which have also been treated very distinctly by Procopius, the Rhetorician, down to his own times.

[EVAGRIUS.]

2 D

After Theodoric, as I have already detailed,¹ had captured Rome and utterly destroyed its king Odoacer, and had closed his life in possession of the Roman sovereignty, his wife Amalasuntha held the reins of government, as guardian of their common son Athalaric; a woman rather of a masculine temperament, and administering affairs accordingly. She was the first person who led Justinian to entertain a desire for the Gothic war, by sending an embassy to him on the formation of a conspiracy against herself. On the death, however, of Athalaric at a very early age, Theodatus, a kinsman of Theodoric, was invested with the sovereignty of the West, but abdicated when Justinian had despatched Belisarius to that quarter; being a person addicted rather to literature, and altogether wanting in military experience; while Vitiges, an able soldier, was in command of his forces. From the materials which the same Procopius has collected, one may gather that Vitiges abandoned Rome on the arrival of Belisarius in Italy; who at once marched upon the city. The Romans readily opened their gates to him; a result mainly brought about by Silverius, their bishop, who, with this view, had sent to him Fidels, formerly assessor to Athalaric. They accordingly surrendered their city to him without resistance: and thus Rome, after an interval of sixty years, again fell into Roman hands on the ninth day of the month Apellæus, called by the Latins December. The same Procopius writes, that, when the Goths were besieging Rome, Belisarius, suspecting Silverius of a design to betray the city, transports him to Greece and appoints Vigilus in his room.

CHAP. XX.—CONVERSION OF THE HERULI.

ABOUT the same time, as Procopius also writes, when the Heruli, who had already crossed the river Danube in the reign of Anastasius, had experienced generous treatment at the hands of Justinian, in large presents of money, the whole nation embraced Christianity and adopted a more civilized mode of life.²

¹ See above, b. iii. ch. 27.

² Concerning the conversion of these people to the faith of Christ, Procopius speaks in book i. of his *Gothics*, and Theophanes in his *Chronicon*. These people, as they lived near the lake Mæotis, in fenny places, were from thence first termed *Ēhri*. *Ἐρη* in Greek signifies fens, or fenny places.

CHAP. XXI.—LOSS AND RECOVERY OF ROME.

IN the next place he records the return of Belisarius to Byzantium, and how he brought thither Vitiges, together with the spoils of Rome; also the seizure of the sovereignty of Rome by Totila, and how the city again fell under the dominion of a Goth; how Belisarius, having twice entered Italy, again recovered the city, and how, on the breaking out of the Median war, he was recalled to Byzantium by the emperor.

CHAP. XXII.—CONVERSION OF THE ABASGI.

PROCOPIUS also records, that the Abasgi, having become more civilized, embraced the Christian doctrine about the same time, and that Justinian sent to them one of the eunuchs of the palace, their countryman, by name Euphratas, with an interdict, that henceforward no one in that nation should undergo emasculation in violation of nature; for from among them the imperial chamberlains were principally appointed, whom usage styles eunuchs. At this time, Justinian, having erected among the Abasgi a temple in honour of the Mother of God, appointed priests for them; by which means they were accurately instructed in the Christian doctrine.

CHAP. XXIII.—CONVERSION OF THE PEOPLE ON THE TANAIS.
EARTHQUAKES.

THE same author narrates, that the people on the Tanais (the natives give the name of Tanais to the channel extending from the Palus Mæotis to the Euxine Sea) urged Justinian to send a bishop to them; which request he granted, and gladly sent them a priest. The same writer describes, with great ability, the irruptions of the Goths of the Mæotis into the Roman territory in the time of Justinian, and the violent earthquakes which took place in Greece; how Bœotia, Achaia, and the neighbourhood of the Crissæan bay suffered shocks; how innumerable towns and cities were levelled, and chasms were formed, many of which closed again, while others remained open.

CHAP. XXIV.—ACHIEVEMENTS AND PIETY OF NARSES.

PROCOPIUS also describes the expedition of Narses, who was sent by Justinian into Italy; how he overthrew Totila and afterwards Teia; and how Rome was taken for the fifth time. Those about the person of Narses affirm that he used to propitiate the Deity with prayers and other acts of piety, paying due honour also to the Virgin and mother of God, so that she distinctly announced to him the proper season for action; and that Narses never engaged until he had received the signal from her.¹ He recounts also other distinguished exploits of Narses in the overthrow of Buselinus and Syndualdus, and the acquisition of nearly the whole country as far as the ocean. These transactions have been recounted by Agathias the Rhetorician, but his history has not reached our hands.

CHAP. XXV.—INVASION OF THE PERSIANS. CAPTURE OF ANTIOCH.

THE same Procopius has also written the following account. When Chosroes had learned what had occurred in Africa and Italy favourable to the Roman dominion, he was moved to excessive jealousy, and advanced certain charges against the Roman government, that terms had been violated and the existing peace broken. In the first place, Justinian sent ambassadors to Chosroes to induce him not to break the peace which was intended to be perpetual, nor to trespass on the existing conditions; proposing that the points in dispute should be discussed and settled in an amicable manner. But Chosroes, maddened by the ferment of jealousy, would not listen to any proposals, and invaded the Roman territory with a large army, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Justinian. The historian also writes, that Chosroes captured and destroyed Sura, a city on the banks of the Euphrates, after having professed to make terms, but dealing with it in defiance of all justice, by paying no regard to the conditions, and becoming master of it rather by stratagem than by open war. He also

¹ So Valesius renders the word *ἐκ τῆς οὐρανόθεν*, and probably he is correct; others understand it to mean, "from heaven." But in either case it amounts to the same thing practically.

narrates the burning of Beræa, and then the advance upon Antioch; at which time Ephraemius was bishop of the city, but had abandoned it on the failure of all his plans.¹ This person is said to have rescued the church and its precincts, by arraying it with the sacred offerings, in order that they might serve as a ransom for it. The historian also feelingly describes the capture of Antioch by Chosroes, and its promiscuous devastation by fire and sword: his visit to the neighbouring city of Seleucia, and to the suburb Daphne, and his advance towards Apamea, during the episcopate of Thomas, a man most powerful in word and deed. He had the prudence to yield to Chosroes in becoming a spectator of the horse-races in the hippodrome, though an act of irregularity; employing every means to court and pacify the conqueror. Chosroes also asked him whether he was desirous to see him in his own city: and it is said that he frankly replied that it was no pleasure to see him in his neighbourhood: at which answer Chosroes was struck with wonder, justly admiring the truthfulness of the man.

CHAP. XXVI.—DISPLAY OF THE WOOD OF THE CROSS AT APAMEA.

Now that I have arrived at this point of my narrative, I will relate a prodigy, which occurred at Apamea, and is worthy of a place in the present history.

When the sons of the Apameans were informed that Antioch had been burnt, they besought the before-mentioned Thomas to bring forth and display the saving and life-giving wood of the cross,² in deviation from established rule; that they might behold and kiss for the last time the sole salvation of man, and obtain a provision for the passage to another life, in having the precious cross as their means of transport to the better lot. In performance of which request, Thomas brings forth life-giving wood, announcing stated days for its display,

¹ Procopius says that Ephræmius the bishop was falsely accused of having a design to deliver up Antioch to the Persians; and that, soon after, he fled into Cilicia, being afraid of the irruption of the Persians. Concerning the ornaments given by Ephræmius to the church of the Antiochians Procopius is silent.

² Compare Socrat. Eccl. Hist. i. 17.

that all the neighbouring people might have an opportunity to assemble and enjoy the salvation thence proceeding.

Accordingly, my parents visited it together with the rest, accompanied by myself, at that time a school-boy.¹ When, therefore, we requested permission to adore and kiss the precious cross, Thomas, lifting up both his hands, displayed the wood which blotted out the ancient curse, making an entire circuit of the sanctuary, as was customary on the ordinary days of adoration. As Thomas moved from place to place, there followed him a large body of fire, blazing but not consuming; so that the whole spot where he stood to display the precious cross seemed to be in flames; and this took place not once or twice, but often, as the priest was making the circuit of the place, and the assembled people were entreating him that it might be done. This circumstance foreshowed the preservation which was granted to the Apameans. Accordingly, a representation of it was suspended on the roof of the sanctuary, explaining it by its delineation to those who were uninformed;² which was preserved until the irruption of Adaarmanes and the Persians, when it was burnt together with the holy church in the conflagration of the entire city. Such were these events. But Chosroes, in his retreat, acted in direct violation of conditions—for even on this occasion terms had been made—in a manner suited to his restless and inconstant disposition, but utterly unbecoming a rational man, much more a king professing a regard for treaties.

CHAP. XXVII.—SIEGE OF EDESSA BY CHOSROES.

THE same Procopius narrates what the ancients had recorded concerning Edessa and Abgarus, and how Christ wrote a

¹ See Life of Evagrius prefixed to this history.

² It has been doubted whether *γραφη* here signifies a picture and image of that flame which had followed the wood of the cross; or a writing. Musculus took it for a writing or inscription, as did also Christopherson, who renders it thus: "For which reason an image was set up in the roof of the sanctuary, which by an inscription cut upon its base, might show this miracle to those who were ignorant of it." But a base is not a term properly used with respect to a painted picture, but relates to a statue only. Valesius thinks that the image, or representation of this miracle, was painted on the arched roof of the church, where perhaps some verses were inscribed, which might record this miracle. *Vales.*

¹etter to him. He then relates how Chosroes made a fresh movement to lay siege to the city, thinking to falsify the assertion prevalent among the faithful, that Edessa would never fall into the power of an enemy: which assertion, however, is not contained in what was written to Abgarus by Christ our God; as the studious may gather from the history of Eusebius Pamphili, who cites the epistle verbatim. Such, however, is the averment and belief of the faithful; which was then realized, faith bringing about the accomplishment of the prediction. For after Chosroes had made many assaults on the city, had raised a mound of sufficient size to overtop the walls of the town, and had devised innumerable expedients beside, he raised the siege and retreated. I will, however, detail the particulars. Chosroes ordered his troops to collect a great quantity of wood for the siege from whatever timber fell in their way; and when this had been done before the order could well be issued, arranging it in a circular form, he threw a mound inside with its face advancing against the city. In this way elevating it gradually with the timber and earth, and pushing it forward towards the town, he raised it to a height sufficient to overtop the wall, so that the besiegers could hurl their missiles from vantage ground against the defenders. When the besiegers saw the mound approaching the walls like a moving mountain, and the enemy in expectation of stepping into the town at day-break, they devised to run a mine under the mound—which the Latins term “aggestus”—and by that means apply fire, so that the combustion of the timber might cause the downfall of the mound. The mine was completed; but they failed in attempting to fire the wood, because the fire, having no exit whence it could obtain a supply of air, was unable to take hold of it. In this state of utter perplexity, they bring the divinely wrought image, which the hands of men did not form,¹ but Christ our God sent to Abgarus on his desiring to see Him. Accordingly, having introduced this holy image into the mine, and washed it over

¹ This passage of Evagrius is cited in the seventh œcumenical synod, p. 613. Further, concerning this image not made with hands, which Christ is said to have sent to Abgarus, it is to be noted that no mention is made of it either by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, or by Procopius in his siege of the city Edessa. For these authors relate, that a letter only was sent by Christ to Abgarus, by the apostle Thaddæus. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. b. i. ch. 13.

with water, they sprinkled some upon the timber; and the Divine power forthwith being present to the faith of those who had so done, the result was accomplished which had previously been impossible: for the timber immediately caught the flame, and being in an instant reduced to cinders, communicated with that above, and the fire spread in all directions. When the besieged saw the smoke rising, they adopted the following contrivance. Having filled small jars with sulphur, tow, and other combustibles, they threw them upon the aggestus; and these, sending forth smoke as the fire was increased by the force of their flight, prevented that which was rising from the mound from being observed; so that all who were not in the secret, supposed that the smoke proceeded solely from the jars. On the third day the flames were seen issuing from the earth, and then the Persians on the mound became aware of their unfortunate situation. But Chosroes, as if in opposition to the power of heaven, endeavoured to extinguish the pile, by turning all the water-courses which were outside the city upon it. The fire, however, receiving the water as if it had been oil or sulphur, or some other combustible, continually increased, until it had completely levelled the entire mound and reduced the aggestus to ashes. Then Chosroes, in utter despair, impressed by the circumstances with a sense of his disgraceful folly in having entertained an idea of prevailing over the God whom we worship, retreated ingloriously into his own territories.

CHAP. XXVIII.—MIRACLE AT SERGIOPOLIS.

WHAT occurred at Sergiopolis through the proceedings of Chosroes shall also be described, as being a notable event and worthy of perpetual remembrance. Chosroes advanced against this city too, eager for its capture; and on his proceeding to assault the walls, negotiations took place with a view to spare the city: and it was agreed that the sacred treasures should be a ransom for the place, among which was also a cross presented by Justinian and Theodora.¹ When

¹ Concerning this golden cross which Chosroes had taken out of the church of the Sergiopolites for the price of its redemption, Theophylact speaks in the fifth book of his history, chap. 13. Where also Chosroes, (grandchild, or nephew, to this Chosroes here mentioned by Evagrius,) ex-

they had been duly conveyed, Chosroes asked the priest and the Persians who had been sent with him, whether there was not anything besides. Upon this one of them, being persons unaccustomed to speak the truth, told Chosroes that there were some other treasures concealed by the townsmen, who were but few. In fact, there had been left behind not any treasure of gold or silver, but one of more valuable material, and irrevocably devoted to God, namely, the holy relics of the victorious martyr Sergius, lying in a coffin of the oblong sort, plated over with silver. Chosroes, influenced by these persons, advanced his whole army against the city; when suddenly there appeared along the circuit of the walls, in defence of the place, innumerable shields; on seeing which the persons sent by Chosroes returned, describing, with wonder, the number and fashion of the arms. And when, on further inquiry, he learned that very few persons remained in the city, and these consisted of aged people and children, from the absence of the flower of the population, he perceived that the prodigy proceeded from the martyr, and, influenced by fear and wonder at the faith of the Christians, he withdrew into his own country. They also say that in his latter days he partook in the holy regeneration.

CHAP. XXIX.—PESTILENCE.

I WILL also describe the circumstances of the pestilence which commenced at that period, and has now prevailed and extended over the whole world for fifty-two years; a circumstance such as has never before been recorded.¹ Two years after the capture of Antioch by the Persians, a pestilence broke out, in some respects similar to that described by Thucydides,² in others widely different. It took its rise from Æthiopia, as is now reported, and made a circuit of the whole world in succession, leaving, as I suppose, no part of the hu-

pressly attests that that cross in honour of the martyr Sergius had been sent by the emperor Justinian to Sergiopolis, and was placed in the church of St. Sergius. *Vales.*

¹ Evagrius means that it was a thing unheard of, that a plague should invade the earth for the space of fifty-two years. Indeed, no plague is recorded to have raged so long. This pestilence is said to have begun in the year after Basilus's consulate, that is, A. D. 543. *Vales.*

² See Thucyd. book ii. chap. 47—53.

man race unvisited by the disease. Some cities were so severely afflicted as to be altogether depopulated, though in other places the visitation was less violent. It neither commenced according to any fixed period, nor was the time of its cessation uniform; but it seized upon some places at the commencement of winter, others in the course of the spring, others during the summer, and in some cases, when the autumn was advanced. In some instances, having infected a part of a city, it left the remainder untouched; and frequently in an uninfected city one might remark a few households excessively wasted; and in several places, while one or two households utterly perished, the rest of the city remained unvisited: but, as we have learned from careful observation, the uninfected households alone suffered the succeeding year. But the most singular circumstance of all was this; that if it happened that any inhabitants of an infected city were living in a place which the calamity had not visited, these alone were seized with the disorder. This visitation also befell cities and other places in many instances according to the periods called Indictions; and the disease occurred, with the almost utter destruction of human beings, in the second year of each indiction¹. Thus it happened in my own case—for I deem it fitting, in due adaptation of circumstances, to insert also in this history matters relating to myself—that at the commencement of this calamity I was seized with what are termed buboes, while still a school-boy, and lost by its recurrence at different times several of my children, my wife, and many of my kin, as well as of my domestic and country servants; the several indictions making, as it were, a distribution of my misfortunes.² Thus, not quite two years before my writing this, being now in the fifty-eighth year of my age,³ on its fourth visit to Antioch, at the expiration of the fourth indiction from its com-

¹ Evagrius probably means that on the second year of each indiction that plague raged more sorely than it was wont to do at other times.

² See Life of Evagrius prefixed to this history

³ From this place the date of Evagrius's birth may easily be found out. For he has said in the beginning of this chapter, that when he wrote these things, it was the fifty-second year of that plague, and that he was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, it necessarily follows, that he was born six years before the beginning of this plague. The plague itself began on the year after Basilus's consulate, that is, two years after the destruction of Antioch, as Evagrius has said above. Evagrius therefore was born A. D. 536, or 537. *Vales.*

mencement, I lost a daughter and her son, besides those who had died previously. The plague was a complication of diseases: for, in some cases, commencing in the head, and rendering the eyes bloody and the face swollen, it descended into the throat, and then destroyed the patient. In others, there was a flux of the bowels: in others buboes were formed, followed by violent fever; and the sufferers died at the end of two or three days, equally in possession, with the healthy, of their mental and bodily powers. Others died in a state of delirium, and some by the breaking out of carbuncles. Cases occurred where persons, who had been attacked once and twice and had recovered, died by a subsequent seizure.

The ways in which the disease was communicated were various and unaccountable; for some perished by merely living with the infected, others by only touching them, others by having entered their chamber, others by frequenting public places. Some, having fled from the infected cities, escaped themselves, but imparted the disease to the healthy. Some were altogether free from contagion, though they had associated with many who were afflicted, and had touched many not only in their sickness but also when dead. Some, too, who were desirous of death, on account of the utter loss of their children and friends, and with this view placed themselves as much as possible in contact with the diseased, were nevertheless not infected; as if the pestilence struggled against their purpose. This calamity has prevailed, as I have already said, to the present time, for two and fifty years, exceeding all that have preceded it. For Philostratus expresses wonder that the pestilence, which happened in his time, lasted for fifteen years. The sequel is uncertain, since its course will be guided by the good pleasure of God, who knows both the causes of things, and their tendencies. I shall now return to the point from which I digressed, and relate the remainder of Justinian's history.

CHAP. XXX.—AVARICE OF JUSTINIAN.

JUSTINIAN was insatiable in the acquisition of wealth, and so excessively covetous of the property of others, that he sold for money the whole body of his subjects to those who were intrusted with offices or who were collectors of tributes, and

to whatever persons were disposed to entrap others by groundless charges. He stripped of their entire property innumerable wealthy persons, under colour of the emptiest pretexts. If even a prostitute, marking out an individual as a victim, raised a charge of criminal intercourse against him, all law was at once rendered vain, and by making Justinian her associate in dishonest gain, she transferred to herself the whole wealth of the accused person. At the same time he was liberal in expenditure; so far as to raise in every quarter many sacred and magnificent temples, and other religious edifices devoted to the care of infants and aged persons of either sex, and of such as were afflicted with various diseases. He also appropriated considerable revenues for carrying out these objects; and performed many such actions as are pious and acceptable to God, provided that those who perform them do so from their own means, and the offering of their deeds be pure.

CHAP. XXXI.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

HE also raised at Constantinople many sacred buildings of elaborate beauty, in honour of God and the saints, and erected a vast and incomparable work, such as has never been before recorded, namely, the largest edifice of the church, a noble and surpassing structure, beyond the power of words to describe. Nevertheless I will endeavour to the best of my ability to detail the plan of the sacred precinct. The nave of the sanctuary is a dome,¹ supported by four arches, and raised to so great a height that the sight of persons surveying it from below can scarcely reach the vertex of the hemisphere, and no one from above, however daring, ventures to bend over and look down to the floor. The arches are raised clear from the pavement to the roof;² but within those on the right and left are ranged columns of Thessalian stone, which, together with other corresponding pillars, support galleries,³ so as to allow those who

¹ See above, b. ii. ch. 2, note.

² By this we are probably to understand that the arches were open, and upheld by no columns.

³ These Hyperœa, galleries or upper rooms, were designed for the women, that being therein placed apart by themselves, they might behold the solemn performances of the Divine service.

wish, to look down upon the performance of the rites below. From these the empress also, when attending at the festivals, witnesses the ceremony of the sacred mysteries. But the eastern and western arches are left vacant,¹ without anything to interrupt the imposing aspect of so vast dimensions. There are also colonnades under the before-mentioned galleries, forming, with pillars and small arches, a termination to so vast a structure. But in order to convey a more distinct idea of this wonderful fabric, I have thought proper to set down in feet, its length, breadth, and height, as well as the span and height of the arches, as follows:—The length from the door facing the sacred apse² where are performed the rites of the bloodless sacrifice, to the apse, is one hundred and ninety feet: the breadth from north to south is one hundred and fifteen feet: the depth from the centre of the hemisphere to the floor is one hundred and eighty feet: the span of each of the arches is [sixty-six]³ feet: the length, however, from east to west is two hundred and sixty feet; and the range of the lights seventy-five feet. There are also to the west two other noble colonnades, and on all sides unroofed courts of elaborate beauty. Justinian also erected the church of the holy Apostles, which may dispute the first place with any other. In this the emperors and the bishops are usually interred.⁴ I have thought fit thus to take some notice of these and similar matters.

¹ By these words Evagrius sets forth the difference between the columns in the different parts of the church of Saint Sophia. For he says, that the columns which were at the right and left side of the church, that is, at the north and south, had galleries or chambers laid upon them, out of which the faithful might behold the sacred mysteries which were celebrated at the altar. But the columns which were placed at the east and west ends upheld no gallery. *Vales.*

² He means the eastern part of the church; which, because the whole structure was a Tholus, must have been almost semi-circular, or, made in the form of a shell; or to speak more technically, had an apsidal termination.

³ In all the original MSS. there is an omission here; the number 66 is supplied by Christopherson, Hanmer, and other editors.

⁴ Sozomen says the same in the close of his second book of Ecclesiastical history. But neither he nor Evagrius affirm that it was peculiar to the Constantinopolitan bishops, that they, in like manner as were the emperors, should be buried in the church of the Apostles; but they speak in general concerning the bishops. Indeed Nicephorus (book viii. *sub fin.*) expressly states that not only the Constantinopolitan, but other bishops also, who for sanctity of life had excelled others, were interred there. For it often

CHAP. XXXII.—PARTIALITY OF JUSTINIAN FOR THE BLUE FACTION.

JUSTINIAN was possessed by another propensity, of unequalled ferocity; whether attributable to an innate defect of his disposition, or to cowardice and apprehensions, I am not able to say. It took its rise from the existence of the faction among the populace distinguished by the name "Nica"¹ He appeared to favour one party, namely, the Blues, to such an excess, that they slaughtered their opponents at mid-day and in the middle of the city, and, so far from dreading punishment, were even rewarded; so that many persons became murderers from this cause. They were allowed to assault houses, to plunder the valuables they contained, and to compel persons to purchase their own lives; and if any of the authorities endeavoured to check them, he was in danger of his very life: and it actually happened that a person holding the government of the East, having chastised some of the rioters with lashes, was himself scourged in the very centre of the city, and carried about in triumph. Callinicus also, the governor of Cilicia, having subjected to legal punishment two Cilician murderers, Paul and Faustinus, who had assaulted and endeavoured to despatch him, suffered impalement, as the penalty for right feeling and maintenance of the laws. The members of the other faction having in consequence fled from their homes, and meeting with a welcome nowhere, but being universally scouted as a pollution, betook themselves to way-laying travellers, and committed thefts and murders to such an extent, that every place was filled with untimely deaths, robberies, and every other crime. Sometimes also, siding with the other faction, Justinian put to death in turn their opponents, by surrendering to the vengeance of the laws those whom he had allowed to commit in the cities equal outrages with barbarians. Neither words nor time would suffice for a minute detail of these transactions. Thus much will, however, serve for a conception of the remainder.

happened that bishops, either sent for by the emperors, or making a journey to the imperial city on account of ecclesiastical affairs, ended their lives there. Thus in the times of Anastasius, Acissus and Gajanus died at Byzantium, and are recorded to have been buried in one sepulchre.

Vales.

See above, ch. 13.

CHAP. XXXIII.—BARSANUPHIUS THE ASCETIC.

THERE lived at that season men divinely inspired and workers of distinguished miracles in various parts of the world, but whose glory has shone forth everywhere. First, Barsanuphius, an Egyptian. He maintained in the flesh the exercise of the spiritual life, in a certain seat of contemplation near the town of Gaza, and succeeded in working wonders too numerous to be recorded. He is also believed to be still alive, enclosed in a chamber, although for fifty years and more from this time he has not been seen by any one, nor has he partaken of any earthly thing. When Eustochius, the president of the church of Jerusalem, in disbelief of this account, had determined to dig into the chamber where the man of God was enclosed, fire burst forth and nearly consumed all those who were on the spot.

CHAP. XXXIV.—SIMEON THE MONK.

THERE lived also at Emesa, Simeon, a man who had so completely unclothed himself of vain-glory as to appear insane to those who did not know him, although filled with all wisdom and divine grace. This Simeon lived principally in solitude, affording to none the means of knowing how and when he propitiated the Deity, nor his time of abstinence or eating. Frequently, too, on the public roads, he seemed to be deprived of self-possession, and to become utterly void of sense and intelligence, and entering at times into a tavern, he would eat, when he happened to be hungry, whatever food was within his reach. But if any one saluted him with an inclination of the head,¹ he would leave the place angrily and hastily, through reluctance that his peculiar virtues should be detected by many persons. Such was the conduct of Simeon in public. But there were some of his acquaintances, with whom he associated without any assumed appearances. One of his friends had a female domestic, who, having been debauched and become pregnant by some person, when she was urged by her owners to name the individual, said that Simeon had

¹ The laity were wont to bow their heads, not only before the bishops and presbyters, but before the monks also, to receive their blessing. A remarkable instance of this practice is extant in Sozomen, b. viii. ch. 13.

secretly cohabited with her and that she was pregnant by him ; that she was ready to swear to the truth of this statement, and, if necessary, to convict him. On hearing this, Simeon assented, saying that he bore the flesh with its frailties ; and when the story was universally spread, and Simeon, as it seemed, was deeply disgraced, he withdrew into retirement, as if from feelings of shame. When the woman's time had arrived, and she had been placed in the usual position, her throes, causing great and intolerable sufferings, brought her into imminent peril, but the birth made no progress. When, accordingly, they besought Simeon, who had come thither designedly, to pray for her, he openly declared that the woman would not be delivered before she had said who was the father of the child : and when she had done this, and named the real father, the delivery was instantaneous, as though by the midwifery of truth.

He once was seen to enter the chamber of a courtesan, and having closed the door, he remained alone with her a considerable time ; and when, again opening it, he went away looking round on all sides lest any one should see him, suspicion rose to so high a pitch, that those who witnessed it, brought out the woman, and inquired what was the nature of Simeon's visit to her and continuance with her for so long a time. She swore that, from want of necessaries, she had tasted nothing but water for three days past, and that Simeon had brought her victuals and a vessel of wine ; that, having closed the door, he set a table before her and bid her make a meal, and satisfy her hunger, after her sufferings from want of food. She then produced the remains of what had been set before her.

Also at the approach of the earthquake which visited Phœnicia Maritima, and by which Berytus, Byblus, and Tripolis especially suffered, raising a whip in his hand, he struck the greater part of the columns in the forum, exclaiming, "Stand still, if there shall be occasion to dance." Inasmuch as none of his actions were unmeaning, those who were present carefully marked which were the columns he passed by without striking them. These were soon afterwards thrown down by the effects of the earthquake. Many other things he also did which require a separate treatise.

CHAP. XXXV.—THOMAS THE MONK.

AT that time lived also Thomas, who pursued the same mode of life in Cœle-Syria. On occasion of his visiting Antioch, for the purpose of receiving the yearly stipend for the support of his monastery, which had been assigned from the revenues of the church in that place, Anastasius, the steward of the church, struck him on the head with his hand, because he frequently troubled him. When the bystanders manifested indignation, he said that neither himself should again receive nor Anastasius pay the money. Both which things came to pass, by the death of Anastasius after an interval of one day, and by the departure of Thomas to the unfading life, on his way back, in the sick hospital at the suburb of Daphne. They deposited his body in the tomb appropriated to strangers: but, after the subsequent interment of two others, his body was found above them, an extraordinary wonder, proceeding from God, who bore testimony to him even after his death; for the other bodies were thrown to a considerable distance. They report the circumstance to Ephraemius, in admiration of the saint. In consequence, his holy body is transported to Antioch, with a public festival and procession, and is honoured with a place in the cemetery, having, by its translation, stopped the plague which was then visiting the place. The yearly festival in his honour the sons of the Antiochenes continue to celebrate to our time with great magnificence. Let me now, however, return to my subject.

CHAP. XXXVI.—ACCOUNT OF A MIRACLE IN THE PATRI-ARCHATE OF MENAS.

WHEN Anthimus, as has been already mentioned,¹ was removed from the see of the imperial city, Epiphanius succeeds to the bishopric; and after Epiphanius, Menas, in whose time also occurred a remarkable prodigy. It is an old custom in the imperial city, that, when there remains over a considerable quantity of the holy fragments of the immaculate body of Christ our God, boys of tender age should be fetched from among those who attend the schools,

¹ See above, b. iv. ch. 11.

to eat them.¹ On one occasion of this kind, there was included among them the son of a glass-worker, a Jew by faith; who, in reply to the inquiries of his parents respecting the cause of his delay, told them what had taken place, and what he had eaten in company with the other boys. The father, in his indignation and fury, places the boy in the furnace where he used to mould the glass. The mother, unable to find her child, wandered over the city with lamentations and wailings; and on the third day, standing by the door of her husband's workshop, was calling upon the boy by name, tearing herself in her sorrow. He, recognising his mother's voice, answered her from within the furnace, and she, bursting open the doors, saw, on her entrance, the boy standing in the midst of the coals, and untouched by the fire. On being asked how he had continued unhurt, he said that a woman in a purple robe had frequently visited him; that she had offered him water, and with it had quenched that part of the coals which was nearest to him; and that she had supplied him with food as often as he was hungry.

Justinian, on the report of this occurrence, placed the boy and his mother in the orders of the church,² after they had been enlightened by the laver of regeneration. But the father, on his refusal to be numbered among the Christians, he ordered to be impaled in the suburb of Sycae,³ as being the murderer of his child.

Such was the course of these occurrences.

¹ Nicephorus (b. xvii. ch. 25) bears witness that this custom, viz. that the particles of the holy eucharist which remained after the conclusion of the service, were at Constantinople distributed amongst the boys and eaten, continued even in his age; and he writes, that he himself, whilst he was a boy, and was frequently in the churches, partook of those particles. *Vales.*

² We must understand that the emperor ordered the boy to be reckoned amongst the readers of the church, and commanded his mother to be ordained a deaconess. *Vales.*

³ In this suburb of the city of Constantinople, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on criminals. Saint Jerome, in his commentaries on Matt. xxv., writes thus *Extra urbem enim et foras portam loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, et Calvariae, id est, Decollatorum sumpsere nomen* *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVII.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

AFTER Menas, Eutychius is elevated to the see.

At Jerusalem, Sallustius succeeds Martyrius, who is himself succeeded by Helias. The next in succession was Peter; and after him came Macarius, without the emperor's confirmation. He was ejected from his see, on the charge of maintaining the opinions of Origen, and was succeeded by Eustochius. After the removal of Theodosius, as has been already mentioned, Zoilus is appointed bishop of Alexandria, and when he had been gathered to his predecessors, Apollinarius obtains the chair. After Ephraemius, Domnus is intrusted with the see of Antioch.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—THE FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

DURING the time that Vigilius was bishop of the Elder Rome, and first Menas, then Eutychius of New Rome, Apollinarius of Alexandria, Domnus of Antioch, and Eustochius of Jerusalem, Justinian summons the fifth synod, for the following reason:—On account of the increasing influence of those who held the opinions of Origen, especially in what is called the New Laura, Eustochius used every effort for their removal, and, visiting the place itself, he ejected the whole party, driving them to a distance, as general pests. These persons, in their dispersion, associated with themselves many others. They found a champion in Theodore, surnamed Ascidas, bishop of Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, who was constantly about the person of Justinian, as being trusty and highly serviceable to him. Whereas he was creating much confusion in the imperial court, and declared the proceeding of Eustochius to be utterly impious and lawless, the latter despatches to Constantinople Rufus, superior of the monastery of Theodosius, and Conon, of that of Saba, persons of the first distinction among the solitaries, both on account of their personal worth and the religious houses of which they were the heads; and with them were associated others scarcely their inferiors in dignity. These, in the first instance, mooted the questions relating to Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus. But Theodore of Cappadocia, with a view to divert them from this point, introduces the subject of Theo-

dore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas; the good God providentially disposing the whole proceeding, in order that the profanities of both parties should be ejected.

On the first question being started, namely, whether it were proper to anathematize the dead, Eutychius, a man of consummate skill in the divine Scriptures, being as yet an undistinguished person—for Menas was still living, and he was himself at that time apocrisiarius¹ to the bishop of Amasea—casting a look on the assembly, not merely of commanding intelligence but of contempt, plainly declared that the question needed no debate, since King Josiah in former time not only slew the living priests of the demons, but also broke up the sepulchres of those who had long been dead. This was considered by all to have been spoken to the purpose. Justinian also, having been made acquainted with the circumstance, elevated him to the see of the imperial city on the death of Menas, which happened immediately after. Vigilius gave his assent in writing to the assembling of the synod, but declined attendance.

Justinian addressed an inquiry to the synod on its assembling, as to what was their opinion concerning Theodore, and the expressions of Theodoret against Cyril and his twelve chapters, as well as the epistle of Ibas, as it is termed, addressed to Maria, the Persian. After the reading of many passages of Theodore and Theodoret, and proof given that Theodore had been long ago condemned and erased from the sacred diptychs, as also that it was fitting that heretics should be condemned after their death, they unanimously anathematize Theodore, and what had been advanced by Theodoret against the twelve chapters of Cyril and the right faith; as also the epistle of Ibas to Maris, the Persian; in the following words:—

“Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the parable in the Gospels,” and so forth. “In addition to all other heretics, who have been condemned and anathematized by the before-mentioned four holy synods and by the holy catholic and apostolic church, we condemn and anathematize Theodore,

¹ Patriarchs, as well as bishops of the greater churches, had their apocrisarii, who managed ecclesiastical affairs in the emperor's palace. This had been in use from the times of Constantine the Great. Monasteries had likewise their apocrisarii in the imperial city. Mention is made of these apocrisarii in Justinian's Sixth Novel.

styled bishop of Mopsestia, and his impious writings; also whatever has been impiously written by Theodoret against the right faith, against the twelve chapters of the sainted Cyril, and against the first holy synod at Ephesus, and all that he has written in defence of Theodore and Nestorius. We further anathematize the impious epistle, said to have been written by Ibas to Maris the Persian."

After some other matter, they proceed to set forth fourteen chapters concerning the right and unimpeachable faith. In this manner had the transactions proceeded: but on the presentation of libels against the doctrine of Origen, named also Adamantius, and the followers of his impious error, by the monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus, and Pancratius, Justinian addresses a question to the synod concerning these points, appending to it a copy of the libel, as well as the epistle of Vigilius upon the subject: from the whole of which may be gathered the attempts of Origen to fill the simplicity of the apostolic doctrine with philosophic and Manichæan tares. Accordingly, a relation was addressed to Justinian by the synod, after they had uttered exclamations against Origen and the maintainers of similar errors. A portion of it is expressed in the following terms: "O most Christian emperor, gifted with heavenly generosity of soul," and so forth. "We have shunned, accordingly, we have shunned this error; for we knew not the voice of the alien; and having bound such a one, as a thief and a robber, in the cords of our anathema, we have ejected him from the sacred precincts." And presently they proceed: "By perusal you will learn the vigour of our acts." To this they appended a statement of the heads of the matters which the followers of Origen were taught to maintain, showing their agreements, as well as their disagreements, and their manifold errors. The fifth head contains the blasphemous expressions uttered by private individuals belonging to what is called the New Laura, as follows. Theodore, surnamed *Ascidas*, the Cappadocian,¹ said, "If the Apostles and Martyrs

¹ As far as may be gathered from these words of Evagrius, this Theodorus the Cappadocian was one of the monks of the New Laura, near the city Jerusalem, who being afterwards made bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, openly undertook the patronage of the Origenists, and acted the chief part in the fifth Constantinopolitan synod; hence Evagrius is led to suppose that these transactions took place in another Constantinopolitan synod, A. D. 538.

at the present time work miracles, and are already so highly honoured, unless they shall be equal with Christ in the restitution of things, in what respect is there a restitution for them?" They also reported many other blasphemies of Didymus, Evagrius, and Theodore; having with great diligence extracted whatever bore upon these points. At an interval of some time after the meeting of the synod, Eutychius is ejected,¹ and there is appointed in his place to the see of Constantinople John a native of Seremis, which is a village of the district of Cynegica, belonging to Antioch.

CHAP. XXXIX.—DEPARTURE OF JUSTINIAN FROM ORTHODOXY.

AT that time Justinian, abandoning the right road of doctrine, and following a path untrodden by the apostles and fathers, became entangled among thorns and briars: with which wishing to fill the Church also, he failed in his purpose, and thereby fulfilled the prediction of prophecy; the Lord having secured the royal road with an unfailing fence, that murderers might not leap, as it were, upon a tottering wall or a broken hedge. Thus, at the time when John, named also Catelinus, was bishop of the Elder Rome, after Vigilius;² John from Seremis, of New Rome; Apollinaris, of Alexandria; Anastasius, of Theopolis, after Domninus; and Macarius, of Jerusalem, had been restored to his see; Justinian, after he had anathematized Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius, issued what the Latins call an Edict, after the deposition of Eustochius, in which he termed the body of the Lord incorruptible and incapable of the natural and blameless passions; affirming that the Lord ate before his passion in the same manner as after his resurrection, his holy body having undergone no conversion or change from the time of its actual formation in the womb, not even in respect of the voluntary and natural passions, nor yet after the resurrection. To this, he proceeded to compel the bishops in all quarters to give their

¹ Evagrius has disguised the cause of the deposition of Eutychius, lest he should offend the memory of the emperor Justinian. For a further account of Eutychius, see Nicephorus, b. xvii. ch. 29.

² Evagrius is mistaken here. For John succeeded not Vigilius, but Pelagius was his successor. After his death John the younger undertook the episcopate of the church of Rome, A. D. 560. *Vales.*

assent. However, they all professed to look to Anastasius, the bishop of Antioch, and thus avoided the first attack.

CHAP. XL.—ANASTASIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

ANASTASIUS was a man most accomplished in divine learning, and so strict in his manners and mode of life, as to insist upon very minute matters, and on no occasion to deviate from a staid and settled frame, much less in things of moment and having relation to the Deity himself. So well tempered was his character, that neither, by being accessible and affable, was he exposed to the intrusion of things unsuitable; nor by being austere and unindulgent, did he become difficult of approach for proper purposes. Accordingly, in serious concerns he was ready in ear and fluent in tongue, promptly resolving the questions proposed to him; but in trifling matters, his ears were altogether closed, and a bridle restrained his tongue, so that speech was directed by reason, and silence resulted, more valuable than speech. Justinian assaults him, like some impregnable tower, with every kind of device, considering that if he could only succeed in shaking¹ this bulwark, all difficulty would be removed in capturing the city, enslaving the right doctrine, and taking captive the sheep of Christ. In such a manner was Anastasius raised above the assailing force by heavenly greatness of mind, (for he stood upon the immoveable rock of faith,) that he unreservedly contradicted Justinian by a formal declaration, in which he showed very clearly and forcibly that the body of the Lord was corruptible in respect of the natural and blameless passions, and that the divine apostles and the inspired fathers both held and delivered this opinion. In the same terms he replied to a question of the monastic body of Syria Prima and Secunda, confirming the minds of all, preparing them for the struggle, and daily reading in the Church those words of the "chosen vessel:"² "If any one is preaching to you a gospel different from that which ye have received, even though it be an angel

¹ This is a metaphor drawn from machines used in sieges. Concerning the constancy of this Anastasius in defending the true faith against the heresy of the Aphthartodocitæ, Eustathius writes also in the Life of the blessed Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople. *Vales.*

² Acts iv. 15

from heaven, let him be accursed."¹ To this all, with few exceptions, paid a steady regard and zealous adherence. He also addressed to the Antiochenes a valedictory discourse, on hearing that Justinian intended to banish him; a discourse deserving admiration for its elegance, its flow of thought, the abundance of sacred texts, and the appropriateness of its historical matters.

CHAP. XLI.—DEATH OF JUSTINIAN.

BUT this discourse was not published, "God having provided some better thing for us:"² for Justinian, while dictating the banishment of Anastasius and his associate priests, departed this life by an invisible stroke, having reigned in all eight and thirty years and eight months.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.—ACCESSION OF JUSTIN THE SECOND.

IN this manner did Justinian depart to the lowest region of retribution, after having filled every place with confusion and tumults, and having received at the close of his life the reward of his actions. His nephew Justin succeeds to the purple; having previously held the office of guardian of the palace, styled in the Latin language *Curopolata*.³ No one, except those who were immediately about his person, was aware of the demise of Justinian or the declaration of Justin, until the latter made his appearance in the hippodrome, by way of formally assuming the stated functions of royalty. Confining himself to this simple proceeding, he then returned to the palace.

His first edict was one dismissing the bishops to their respective sees, wherever they might be assembled, with a pro-

¹ Gal. ii. 9.

² Heb. xi. 40

³ Valesius observes that at first this dignity was a humble one, but that afterwards it began to be accounted the chief dignity of the palace. It was a civil, not a military dignity.

vision that they should maintain what was already established in religion, and abstain from novelties in matters of faith. This proceeding was to his honour. In his mode of life, however, he was dissolute, utterly abandoned to luxury and inordinate pleasures: and to such a degree was he inflamed with desire for the property of others, as to convert everything into a means of unlawful gain; standing in no awe of the Deity even in the case of bishoprics, but making them a matter of public sale to any purchasers that offered. Possessed, as he was, alike by the vices of audacity and cowardice, he in the first place sends for his kinsman Justin,¹ a man universally famous for military skill and his other distinctions, who was at that time stationed upon the Danube, and engaged in preventing the Avars from crossing that river.

These were one of those Scythian tribes who live in wagons, and inhabit the plains beyond the Caucasus. Having been worsted by their neighbours, the Turks, they had migrated in a mass to the Bosphorus; and, having subsequently left the shores of the Euxine—where were many barbarian tribes, and where also cities, castles, and some harbours had been located by the Romans, being either settlements of veterans, or colonies sent out by the emperors—they were pursuing their march, in continual conflict with the barbarians whom they encountered, until they reached the bank of the Danube; and thence they sent an embassy to Justinian.

From this quarter Justin was summoned, as having a claim to the fulfilment of the terms of the agreement between himself and the emperor. For, since both of them had been possessed of equal dignity, and the succession to the empire was in suspense between both, they had agreed, after much dispute, that whichever of the two should become possessed of the sovereignty, should confer the second place on the other; so that while ranking beneath the emperor, he should still take precedence of all others.

CHAP. II.—MURDER OF JUSTIN, KINSMAN OF THE EMPEROR.

THE emperor accordingly received him, in the first instance, with an abundant display of kindness. Afterwards, he pro-

¹ This Justin was son to Germanus Patricius, and cousin-german to the emperor Justin, and nephew to Justinian.

ceeded to fix certain charges upon him, and to withdraw the various guards of his person, forbidding him at the same time access to his presence; for he himself lived in the retirement of his palace: and ultimately he ordered his removal to Alexandria. There he is miserably murdered in the dead of night, when he had just retired to rest; such being the reward of his fidelity to the commonwealth and his achievements in war. Nor did the emperor and his consort Sophia abate their rage, nor had they sufficiently indulged their boiling spite, before they had gazed upon his head and spurned it with their feet.

CHAP. III.—EXECUTION OF ÆTHERIUS AND ADDÆUS.

NOT long after, the emperor brought to trial for treason Ætherius and Addæus, members of the senate, who had occupied the very highest position at the court of Justinian. Ætherius confessed to a design of poisoning the emperor, saying that he had in Addæus an accomplice in the plot and an abettor throughout. The latter, however, asseverated, with fearful imprecations, that he was utterly ignorant of the transaction. Both were accordingly beheaded, Addæus affirming, at the instant of execution, that he had been falsely accused on this point, but admitting that he received his due at the hands of all-seeing Justice, for that he had taken off Theodotus, prefect of the palace, by sorcery. How far these statements are true, I am not able to say; but both were men of bad character; Addæus being addicted to unnatural lust, and Ætherius pursuing to the utmost a system of false accusation, and plundering the property both of the living and the dead, in the name of the imperial household,¹ of which he had been comptroller in the time of Justinian. Such was the termination of these matters.

CHAP. IV.—EDICT OF JUSTIN CONCERNING THE FAITH.

JUSTIN issues an edict to the Christians in every quarter, in the following terms.

¹ He means the house of Antiochus, of which Ætherius was curator, or comptroller. There were many such houses at Constantinople, as the house of Placidia, the house of Flaccilla, the house of Hormisda, and several others belonging to the emperor; each of which houses had its curator, who looked after that house or palace, and all its revenues. These officers are termed *Curæ Palatiorum* in the Noutia of the Roman empire.

"In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God, the Emperor Cæsar Flavian Justin, faithful in Christ, clement, supreme, beneficent, Alemannicus, Gothicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Francicus, Herulicus, Gepidicus, pious, fortunate, glorious, victorious, triumphant, ever-worshipful Augustus.

"'My peace I give to you,' says the Lord Christ, our very God. 'My peace I leave to you,' he also proclaims to all mankind. Now this is nothing else than that those who believe on him should gather into one and the same church, being unanimous concerning the true belief of Christians, and withdrawing from such as affirm or entertain contrary opinions: for the prime means of salvation for all men is the confession of the right faith. Wherefore we also, following the evangelical precepts and the holy symbol or doctrine of the holy fathers, exhort all persons to unite in one and the same church and sentiment; and this we do, believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, holding the doctrine of a consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead or nature and substance, both in terms and reality; one power, influence, and operation in three subsistences or persons; into which doctrine we were baptized, in which we believe, and to which we have united ourselves. For we worship a Unity in trinity and a Trinity in unity, peculiar both in its division and in its union, being Unity in respect of substance or Godhead, and Trinity with regard to its proprieties or subsistences or persons; for it is divided indivisibly, so to speak, and is united divisibly: for there is one thing in three, namely, the Godhead; and the three things are one, namely, those in which is the Godhead, or, to speak more accurately, which are the Godhead: and we acknowledge the Father to be God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, whenever each person is regarded by itself—the thought in that case separating the things that are inseparable—and the three when viewed in conjunction to be God by sameness of motion and of nature; inasmuch as it is proper both to confess the one God, and at the same time to proclaim the three subsistences or proprieties. We also confess the only begotten Son of God, the God-Word, who, before the ages and without time, was begotten of the Father, not made, and who, in the last of the days, for our sakes and for our salvation, descended from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of our

¹ John x.v. 27.

Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, and was born of her; who is our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity,¹ united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit: for the Holy Trinity did not admit the addition of a fourth person, even when one of the Trinity, the God-Word, had become incarnate; but our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same, being consubstantial with God the Father as respects the Godhead, and at the same time consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood; passible in the flesh, and at the same time impassible in the Godhead: for we do not admit that the Divine Word who wrought the miracles was one, and he who underwent the sufferings was another; but we confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, namely, the Word of God become incarnate and made perfectly man, and that both the miracles and the sufferings which he voluntarily underwent for our salvation belong to one and the same; inasmuch as it was not a human being that gave himself on our behalf; but the God-Word himself, becoming man without undergoing change, submitted in the flesh to the voluntary passion and death on our behalf. Accordingly, while confessing him to be God, we do not contravene the circumstance of his being man; and while confessing him to be man, we do not deny the fact of his being God: whence, while confessing our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, composed of both natures, namely, the Godhead and the manhood, we do not superinduce confusion upon the union;² for he will not lose the circumstance of being God on becoming man like ourselves; nor yet, in being by nature God, and in that respect incapable of likeness to us, will he also decline the circumstance of being man. But as he continued God in manhood; in like manner, though possessed of Divine supremacy, he is no less man; being both

¹ "Ὁς ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, who is to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. In Nicephorus, b. xvii. chap. 35, where this edict of the emperor Justinus concerning the faith is recorded, this place is read thus: ὅς ἐστι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἴσος, who is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. Which Christopherson renders thus, Qui est æqualis Patri et Spiritui Sancto. But in this place the equality of the Father and Son is not treated of, but, whether Christ be one Person of the Blessed Trinity. The passage stands as amended by Valesius.

² ἔνωσις. This word is rendered by Valesius "unitio," the compounding of two things into one.

in one, God and man at the same time, one Emmanuel. Further, while confessing him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, of which two he was also composed, we do not attach to his one complex subsistence a division by parts or severance ; but we signify that the difference of the natures is not annulled by the union : for neither was the Divine nature changed into the human, nor the human nature converted into the Divine ; but, each being the more distinctly understood and existent in the limit and relation of its own nature, we say that the union took place according to subsistence. The union according to subsistence signifies, that the God-Word, that is to say one subsistence of the three subsistences of the Godhead, was not united with a previously existing human being, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, formed for himself of her, in his own subsistence, flesh consubstantial with ourselves, having the same passions in all respects except sin, and animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul ; for he retained his subsistence in himself,¹ and became man, and is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Further, while considering his ineffable union, we rightly confess one nature, that of the Divine Word, to have become incarnate, by flesh animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul ; and, on the other hand, while contemplating the difference of the natures, we affirm that they are two, without, however, introducing any division, for either nature is in him ; whence we confess one and the same Christ, one Son, one person, one subsistence, both God and man together : and all who have held or do hold opinions at variance with these, we anathematize, judging them to be alien from the Holy and Apostolic Church of God. Accordingly, while the right doctrines which have been delivered to us by the holy fathers are being thus proclaimed, we exhort you all to gather into one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Church, or rather we even entreat you ; for though possessed of imperial supremacy, we do not decline the use of such a term, in be-

¹ Nicephorus reads incorrectly *ἐν αὐτῷ*, understanding *ἐν τῇ σαρκί*, in the very flesh. For Christ had not a proper subsistence in the flesh, but before He assumed flesh, as being the Second Person of the sacred Trinity from all eternity.

half of the unanimity and union of all Christians, in the universal offering of one doxology to our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in abstinence for the future on the part of all from unnecessary disputes about persons¹ and words—since the words lead to one true belief and understanding—while the usage and form which has hitherto prevailed in the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, remains for ever unshaken and unchanged.”

To this edict all assented, saying that it was expressed in orthodox language. None, however, of the severed portions of the church were entirely reunited, because the edict distinctly declared that what had hitherto been unshaken and unchanged, should continue so in all coming time.

CHAP. V.—DEPOSITION OF ANASTASIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

JUSTIN also ejected Anastasius from the episcopate of Theopolis, on the charge of a profuse and improper expenditure of the funds of the see, and also for scandalous language against himself; inasmuch as Anastasius, on being asked why he was so lavishly squandering the property of the see, frankly replied that it was done to prevent its being carried off by that universal pest, Justin. He is also said to have entertained a grudge against Anastasius, because he had refused to pay a sum of money, when demanded of him in consideration of his appointment to the bishopric.² Other charges were also brought against him by persons, who, as I suppose, wished to second the emperor's bent.

¹ The word *πρόσωπα*, persons, is used on account of the heresy of Nestorius, who asserted two persons in Christ, the one of man, the other of the Word. But the word *συντάξεις*, syllables, was annexed on account of the Eutychians and Acephali, who affirmed that Christ consisted of two natures before the union, but after the union of one nature only. On the other hand, the Catholics adored Christ in his two natures.

² The grandees at court, and those whose interest was great with the emperor, were wont to exact money of those who were elected patriarchs, as may be proved by the example of Chrysaphius the eunuch, who demanded money of Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, as Evagrius has related above, b. ii. ch. 2.

CHAP. VI.—GREGORY, THE SUCCESSOR OF ANASTASIUS.

NEXT in succession, Gregory is elevated to the episcopal see : “ wide whose renown,” according to the language of poetry ; a person who had devoted himself from the earliest period of life to the monastic discipline, and had wrestled therein so manfully and stoutly, that he arrived at the highest elevation when scarcely past his boyhood, and became superior of the monastery of the Byzantines,¹ in which he had assumed the bare mode of life, and subsequently, by the orders of Justin, of the monastery of Mount Sinai. Here he encountered extreme danger, having sustained a siege by the Scenite Arabs.

Having, nevertheless, secured the complete tranquillity of the spot, he was thence summoned to the archiepiscopal dignity. He was unrivalled in every excellence of intellect and virtue, and most energetic in accomplishing whatever he resolved upon, uninfluenced by fear, and incapable of shrinking before secular power. So noble was his expenditure of money, in a general system of liberality and munificence, that whenever he appeared in public, crowds, besides his ordinary attendants, followed him ; and all gathered round him who saw or heard of his approach. The respect shown to so high a dignity, was but second to the honour bestowed upon the individual, in the generous desire of persons to obtain a near view of him and to hear his words ; for he was possessed of singular power to inspire with attachment towards himself all who held converse with him, being a person of most imposing aspect and sweet address, especially quick of perception and prompt in execution, a most able counsellor and judge, both in his own matters and in those of others. On this account it was that he accomplished so much, never deferring anything till to-morrow. By dealing with matters with unfailing promptitude, according as either necessity required or opportunity favoured, he filled with admiration not only the Roman but the Persian sovereigns, as I shall set forth the particulars in their proper place. His character was strongly marked by vehemence, and at times by indications of anger ; while, on the other hand, his meekness and gentleness were not confined, but were exceedingly abundant ; so that to him was admirably fitted the excellent ex-

¹ This seems to have been a monastery in Syria, in which Gregory, whilst he was yet young, had passed the early part of his monastic life.

pression of Gregory Theologus, "austerity tempered with modesty," while neither quality was impaired, but each rendered more striking by the other.

CHAP. VII.—SUBMISSION OF THE INHABITANTS OF PERSARMENIA.

IN the first year of the episcopate of Gregory, the inhabitants of what was formerly called the Greater Armenia, but afterwards Persarmenia—this country was formerly subject to the Romans, but when Philip, the successor of Gordian, had betrayed it to Sapor, what is called the Lesser Armenia alone was possessed by the Romans, but the remainder by the Persians—this people, being Christians and cruelly treated by the Persians, especially on the score of their faith,¹ sent a secret embassy to Justin, imploring to be allowed to place themselves under the dominion of the Romans, in order to a safe and unrestrained observance of their religion. When the emperor had admitted their overtures, and certain written conditions had been settled on his part and guaranteed by the most solemn oaths, the Armenians massacre their governors; and the whole nation, together with their allied neighbours, both of kindred and foreign race, unite themselves to the Roman empire, Vardanes having a precedence among his countrymen by birth, dignity, and military skill. In reply to the complaints of Chosroes on account of these transactions, Justin alleged that the peace had expired, and that it was impossible to reject the advances of Christians, when desirous of uniting themselves with their fellow Christians in time of war.

Such was his reply. Notwithstanding, he made no preparation for war, but was involved in his habitual luxury, regarding everything as secondary to his personal enjoyments.

CHAP. VIII.—SIEGE OF NISIBIS BY MARCIAN.

THE emperor sends out his kinsman Marcian, as commander of the forces of the East, without, however, sufficiently supplying him with troops, or the other material of war. He occu-

¹ An early ecclesiastical historian states that these Armenians surrendered themselves up to the protection of Rome in consequence of being compelled to worship idols by Chosroes, emperor of Persia.

pies Mesopotamia, at the imminent risk of utter ruin, followed by very few troops, and these imperfectly armed, and by a few rustic labourers and herdsmen, whom he had pressed into his service from among the provincials.¹ After gaining the advantage in some skirmishes near Nisibis with the Persians, who were themselves not yet completely prepared, he sits down before that city, though the enemy did not think it necessary to close the gates, and insolently jeered the Roman troops. Besides many other prodigies presaging the approaching calamities, I also saw, at the beginning of the war, a newly born calf with two heads.

CHAP. IX.—INVASION OF THE PERSIANS.

CHOSROES, when his preparations for war were completed, having accompanied Adaarmanes for some distance, sent him across the Euphrates from his own bank of the river into the Roman territory, by Circesium, a city most important to the Romans, situated at the limit of the empire, and rendered strong not only by its walls, which are carried to an immense height, but by the rivers Euphrates and Aboras, which, as it were, insulate the place. Chosroes himself, having crossed the Tigris with his own division of the army, advanced upon Nisibis.

Of these operations the Romans were for a long time ignorant, so far that Justin, relying on a rumour to the effect that Chosroes was either dead, or approaching his last breath, was indignant at the tardiness of the siege of Nisibis, and sent persons for the purpose of stimulating the efforts of Marcian, and bringing to him the keys of the gates as quickly as possible. Information, however, that the siege was making no progress, but that the commander was bringing great discredit upon himself by attempting impossibilities in the case of so important a city with so contemptible a force, is conveyed in the first instance to Gregory, bishop of Theopolis: for the bishop of Nisibis, being strongly attached to Gregory, as having received munificent presents from him, and especially being indignant at the insolence which the Persians were continually displaying towards the Christians, and desirous that his

¹ συντελείς.] For the exact meaning of this word, see above, book iii. chap. 42.

city should be subject to the Roman power, supplied information to Gregory of all things that were going on in the enemy's territory, at each several juncture. This the latter immediately forwarded to Justin, informing him as quickly as possible of the advance of Chosroes: but he, being immersed in his habitual pleasures, paid no regard to the letters of Gregory; nor was he indeed inclined to believe them, indulging rather the thoughts suggested by his wishes; for the ordinary mark of dissolute persons is a meanness of spirit combined with confidence with regard to results; as well as incredulity, if anything occurs which runs counter to their desires. Accordingly he writes to Gregory, altogether repudiating the information as being utterly false, and, even supposing it were true, saying that the Persians would not come up before the siege was concluded, and that, if they did, they would be beaten off with loss. He further sends Acacius, a wicked and insolent man, to Marcian with orders to supersede him in the command, even supposing he had already set one foot within the town. This command he strictly executed, carrying out the emperor's orders without any regard to the public good: for, on his arrival at the camp, he deprives Marcian of his command while on the enemy's territory, and without informing the army of the transaction. The various officers, on learning at the break of the next day that their commander was superseded, no longer appeared at the head of their troops, but stole away in various directions, and thus raised that ridiculous siege.

Adaarmanes, on the other hand, in command of a considerable force of Persians and Scenite barbarians, having marched by Circesium, inflicted every possible injury with fire and sword upon the Roman territory, setting no limits to his intentions or actions. He also captures many fortresses and towns, without encountering any resistance; in the first place, because there was no one in command, and secondly, because, since the Roman troops were shut up in Daras by Chosroes, his foragings and incursions were made in perfect security. He also directed an advance upon Theopolis, without proceeding thither in person. These troops were compelled to draw off most unexpectedly; for scarcely any one, or indeed very few persons, remained in the city; and the bishop had fled, taking with him the sacred treasures, because both the greater part of the walls had fallen to ruins, and the

populace had made insurrection with the hope of gaining ascendancy by change: a thing of frequent occurrence, and especially at junctures like this. The insurgents themselves also abandoned the city, without any attempt to meet the emergency or take active measures against the enemy.

CHAP. X.—CAPTURE OF APAMEA AND DARAS.

FAILING thus in this attempt, Adaarmanes, having burnt the city formerly called Heraclea, but subsequently Gagastica, made himself master of Apamea; which, having been founded by Seleucus Nicator,¹ was once flourishing and populous, but had fallen to a great extent into ruin through lapse of time. On the capitulation of the city from the inability of the inhabitants to offer any resistance, since the wall had fallen down through age, he fired and pillaged the whole place, in violation of the terms, and drew off, carrying away captive the inhabitants of the town and the adjoining country, and among them the bishop and the governor. He also exercised every kind of atrocity during his march, without meeting with any resistance or indeed attempt at opposition, except a very small force sent out by Justin under the command of Magnus, who had formerly been a banker at Constantinople, and subsequently appointed steward of one of the imperial residences. These troops however fled with precipitation, and narrowly escaped being made prisoners.

After these operations, Adaarmanes joins Chosroes, who had not yet captured the city he was besieging. By the junction, he threw an important weight into the scale, in raising the spirits of his countrymen, while he disheartened their opponents. He found the city cut off by lines, and a huge mound carried forward within a short distance of the walls, with engines mounted, and especially catapults, shooting from vantage ground. By these means Chosroes took the city by storm. John, the son of Timostratus, was governor, who paid little regard to the defence of the place, or perhaps betrayed it; for both accounts are reported. Chosroes had besieged the city for five months or more, without any effort being made for its relief. Having brought forth all the inhabitants

¹ The first king of Syria, so called because of his famous victories.

in immense numbers, some of whom he miserably slaughtered, but retained the greater part as captives, he garrisoned the city, on account of its important situation, and then retired into his own territories.

CHAP. XI.—INSANITY OF JUSTIN.

ON being informed of these events, Justin, in whose mind no sober and considerate thoughts found place after so much inflation and pride, and who did not bear what had befallen him with resignation suited to a human being, falls into a state of frenzy, and becomes unconscious of all subsequent transactions.

Tiberius assumes the direction of affairs, a Thracian by birth, but holding the first place in the court of Justin. He had previously been sent out against the Avars by the emperor, who had raised a very large army for the purpose; and he would inevitably have been made prisoner, since his troops would not even face the barbarians, had not Divine Providence unexpectedly delivered him, and preserved him for succession to the Roman sovereignty; which, through the inconsiderate measures of Justin, was in danger of falling to ruin, together with the entire commonwealth, and of passing from such a height of power into the hands of barbarians.

CHAP. XII.—EMBASSY OF TRAJAN TO CHOSROES.

ACCORDINGLY, Tiberius adopts a measure opportune and well suited to the state of affairs, which altogether repaired the calamity. He despatches to Chosroes, Trajan, a senator and an accomplished man, universally esteemed for his years and intelligence; not, however, as representative of the sovereign power, nor yet as ambassador for the commonwealth, but merely to treat on behalf of the empress Sophia; who herself also wrote to Chosroes, bewailing the calamities which had befallen her husband, and the loss of its head which the commonwealth sustained, and urging the unseemliness of trampling upon a widowed female, a prostrate monarch, and a desolate empire: at the same time reminding him that, when afflicted with sickness, he had himself not only been treated with similar forbearance, but that the very best physicians had

been sent to him by the Roman government, and had cured him of his disease. Chosroes is, accordingly, moved by the appeal, and when upon the very point of attacking the empire, makes a truce for three years, embracing the eastern parts; with a condition that Armenia should be excepted,¹ so as to allow of hostilities being maintained there, provided the East were not molested.

During these proceedings in the East, Sirmium is taken by the barbarians, which had some time before fallen into the hands of the Gepidæ, and been afterwards restored by them to Justin.

CHAP. XIII.—PROCLAMATION OF TIBERIUS. HIS CHARACTER.

ABOUT this time Justin, by the advice of Sophia, bestows on Tiberius the rank of Cæsar, giving utterance, in the act of declaration, to such expressions as surpass all that has been recorded in ancient or recent history; our compassionate God having vouchsafed to him an opportunity for an avowal of his own errors, and a suggestion of what was for the benefit of the state. For when there were assembled in the open court, where ancient usage² enjoins that such proceedings should take place, both the archbishop, John, whom we have already mentioned, and his clergy, as well as the state dignitaries, and the household troops, the emperor, on investing Tiberius with the imperial tunic and robe, gave utterance with a loud voice to the following words: "Let not the grandeur of thy investiture deceive thee, nor the pomp of the present spectacle; beguiled by which, I have unwittingly rendered myself obnoxious to the most severe penalties. Do thou make reparation for my errors, by administering the commonwealth with all gentleness." Then pointing to the magistrates, he recommended him by no means to put confidence in them, adding: "These are the very persons who have brought me into the condition which thou now witnessest:" together with other

¹ This is doubtless the correct reading, for in the truce made between the Romans and Persians, it had been expressly provided that there should be a cessation of arms throughout the East only; but in Armenia and Iberia it should be lawful to wage war.

² Evagrius is probably mistaken here; for the old custom was that the Augusti should be proclaimed seven miles from the city, in the presence of the army, in the campus, or field without the city.

similar expressions, which filled all with utter amazement, and drew forth an abundance of tears.

Tiberius was very tall, and by far the most noble person not only of sovereigns but all mankind; so that, in the first place, his beauty was deserving of sovereignty. In disposition, he was mild and compassionate, and gave cordial reception to all persons at their very first approach. He deemed wealth to consist in aiding all with largesses, not merely so far as to meet their wants, but even to superfluity: for he did not consider what the needy ought to receive, but what it became a Roman emperor to bestow. He esteemed that gold to be adulterated which was exacted with tears: on which account he entirely remitted the taxation for one year, and released from their imposts the properties which Adarmanes had devastated, not merely to the extent of the damage but even far beyond it. The magistrates were also excused from the necessity of making the unlawful presents, by means of which the emperors formerly made a sale of their subjects. On these points he also issued constitutions, as a security for coming time.

CHAP. XIV.—SUCCESSSES OF THE ROMAN COMMANDER
JUSTINIAN AGAINST THE PERSIANS.

TIBERIUS, accordingly, applying to a rightful purpose the wealth which had been amassed by improper means, made the necessary preparations for war. So numerous was the army of brave men, raised among the Transalpine nations, the Massagetæ, and other Scythian tribes, by a choice levy in the countries on the Rhine, and on this side of the Alps, as well as in Pæonia, Mysia, Illyria, and Isauria, that he completed squadrons of excellent cavalry, to the amount of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men, and repulsed Chosroes, who, immediately after the capture of Daras, had advanced in the course of the summer against Armenia, and was thence directing his movements upon Cæsarea, which was the seat of government of Cappadocia and the capital of the cities in that quarter. In such contempt did Chosroes hold the Roman power, that, when the Cæsar had sent an embassy to him, he did not deign to admit the ambassadors to an audience, but bid them follow him to Cæsarea; at which place he said he would

take the embassy into his consideration. When, however, he saw the Roman army in the front of him, under the command of Justinian, the brother of that Justin who had been miserably put to death by the emperor Justin, in complete equipment, with the trumpets sending forth martial sounds, the standards uplifted for conflict, and the soldiery eager for slaughter, breathing forth fury, and at the same time maintaining perfect order, and, besides, so numerous and noble a body of cavalry as no monarch had ever imagined, he drew a deep groan, with many adjurations, at the unforeseen and unexpected sight, and was reluctant to begin the engagement. But while he is lingering and whiling away the time, and making a mere feint of fighting, Kurs, the Scythian, who was in command of the right wing, advances upon him; and since the Persians were unable to stand his charge, and were in a very signal manner abandoning their ground, he made an extensive slaughter of his opponents. He also attacks the rear, where both Chosroes and the whole army had placed their baggage, and captures all the royal stores and the entire baggage, under the very eyes of Chosroes; who endured the sight, deeming self-imposed constraint more tolerable than the onset of Kurs. The latter, having together with his troops made himself master of a great amount of money and spoil, and carrying off the beasts of burden with their loads, among which was the sacred fire of Chosroes to which divine honours were paid, makes a circuit of the Persian camp, singing songs of victory, and rejoins, about nightfall, his own army, who had already broken up from their position, without a commencement of battle on the part of either Chosroes or themselves, beyond a few slight skirmishes or single combats, such as usually take place.

Chosroes, having lighted many fires, made preparations for a night assault; and since the Romans had formed two camps, he attacks the division which lay northward, at the dead of night. On their giving way under this sudden and unexpected onset, he advances upon the neighbouring town of Melitene, which was undefended and deserted by its inhabitants, and having fired the whole place, prepared to cross the Euphrates. At the approach, however, of the united forces of the Romans, in alarm for his own safety, he mounted an elephant, and crossed alone; while great numbers of his army

found a grave in the waters of the river; on learning whose fate he retreated. Having paid this extreme penalty for his insolence towards the Roman power, Chosroes retires with the survivors to the eastern parts, in which quarter the terms of the truce had provided that no one should attack him. Nevertheless Justinian made an irruption into the Persian territory with his entire force, and passed the whole winter there without any molestation. He withdrew about the summer solstice, without having sustained any loss whatever, and passed the summer near the border, surrounded by prosperity and glory.

CHAP. XV. DEATH OF CHOSROES. SUCCESSION OF HORMISDAS.

CHOSROES, lost in frenzy and despair, and submerged in the surgings of sorrow, is brought to a miserable end¹ by overwhelming anguish, after leaving behind him a lasting monument of his flight, in the law which he enacted, that no king of the Persians should henceforward lead an army against the Romans. He is succeeded by his son Hormisdas. These matters I must now pass over, since the events which follow in direct succession are inviting my attention and awaiting the regular progress of my narrative.

CHAP. XVI.—SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

ON the decease of John, named also Catelinus, Bonosus is intrusted with the helm of the Roman see, and he is succeeded by another John, and he, again, by Pelagius. In the imperial city John is succeeded by Eutychius, who had already held the see before him. Apollinaris is succeeded in the see of Alexandria by John, and he by Eulogius. After Macarius, John is elevated to the bishopric of Jerusalem, who had pursued the monastic discipline in what is called the monastery of the Acoemets. This period passed without any changes being attempted in the state of the church.²

¹ The death of Chosroes, king of the Persians, is anticipated here; for he died after Tiberius had obtained the empire. See Theophylact, book iii. chap. 16.

² Christopherson understood these words as applying only to the times of John. But it is clear that Evagrius means that there had been no tumult in the church during the whole time whilst the prelates here named occupied the see of Jerusalem. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.—EARTHQUAKE AT ANTIOCH.

IN the third year of the administration of the empire by Tiberius, a violent earthquake befell Theopolis and its suburb of Daphne, precisely at noon; on which occasion the whole of that suburb was laid in utter ruin by the shocks, while the public and private buildings in Theopolis, though rent to the ground, were still not entirely levelled. Several other events occurred both in Theopolis, and also in the imperial city, deserving especial notice, which threw both places into confusion, and broke out into excessive disturbances: events which took their rise from zeal for God, and terminated in a manner worthy of Divine agency. These I now proceed to notice.

CHAP. XVIII.—COMMOTION ON ACCOUNT OF ANATOLIUS.

THERE was residing at Theopolis a certain Anatolius, who was originally one of the vulgar and an artisan, but had subsequently, by some means or other, obtained admission into public offices and other posts of importance. In this city he was pursuing his engagements, from which resulted an intimacy with Gregory, president of that church, and frequent visits to him, partly for the purpose of conversing on matters of business, and partly with a view to obtain greater influence on the ground of his intercourse with the prelate. This person was detected in the practice of sacrificial rites, and being called to account was proved to be a miscreant and a sorcerer, and implicated in innumerable enormities. He gains over, however, by bribery, the governor of the East, and would have obtained an acquittal, together with his accomplices, for he was associated with others of a similar stamp who were involved in the detection, had not the people risen, and, by exciting a universal stir, frustrated the design.

They also clamoured against the bishop, saying that he was a party to the scheme; and some turbulent and malignant demon induced persons to believe that he had also taken part with Anatolius in the sacrificial rites. By this means Gregory was brought into extreme danger, from the vehement efforts of the populace against him; and the suspicion was so far

prevalent, that even the emperor Tiberius was desirous of learning the truth from the mouth of Anatolius. Accordingly, he orders Anatolius and his associates to be conveyed forthwith to the imperial city. On learning this, Anatolius rushed to a certain image of the Mother of God, which was suspended by a cord in the prison, and folding his hands behind his back, announced himself as a suppliant: but she, in detestation and conviction of the guilty and God-hated man, turned herself quite round, presenting a prodigy awful and worthy of perpetual remembrance; which, having been witnessed by all the prisoners as well as by those who had the charge of Anatolius and his associates, was thus published to the world. She also appeared in a vision to some of the faithful, exhorting them against the wretch, and saying that Anatolius was guilty of insult against her Son.

When he had been conveyed to the imperial city, and, on being subjected to the extreme of torture, was unable to allege anything against the bishop, he and his associates were the cause of still greater disturbances and a general rising of the populace: for, when some of the party had received sentence of banishment instead of death, the populace, inflamed with a sort of divine zeal, caused a general commotion, in their fury and indignation, and having seized the persons condemned to banishment and put them into a skiff, they committed them alive to the flames; such being the people's verdict. They also clamoured against the emperor and their own bishop Eutychius as betrayers of the faith; and they would have inevitably despatched Eutychius, and those who had been charged with the investigation, making search for them in every quarter, had not all-preserving Providence rescued them from their pursuers, and gradually lulled the anger of so numerous a population; so that no outrage was perpetrated at their hands. Anatolius himself, after being first exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre and mangled by them, was then impaled, without terminating even then his punishment in this world; for the wolves, tearing down his polluted body, divided it as a feast among themselves; a circumstance never before noticed. There was also one of my fellow-citizens, who, before these events took place, affirmed that he had been informed by a dream, that the judgment upon Anatolius and his associates was in the hands of the populace. A person too of high

distinction, being the curator of the palace,¹ who had resolutely protected Anatolius, said that he had seen the Mother of God, demanding of him how long he intended to defend Anatolius, who had so grievously outraged herself and her Son. Such was the termination of this business.

CHAP. XIX.—CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF MAURICE.

TIBERIUS, being by this time in possession of the crown on the death of Justin, supersedes Justinian, since he had not been equally successful against the barbarians, and appoints Maurice to the command of the forces of the East; a person who derived his descent and name from the elder Rome, but, as regards his more immediate origin, was a native of Arabissus² in Cappadocia; a man of sense and ability, and of unvarying accuracy and firmness. Being staid and precise in his mode of living and manners, he was temperate in his food, using only such as was necessary and simple, and was superior to all other indulgences of a luxurious life. He was not easily accessible to the solicitations of the vulgar, nor a too easy listener in general; well knowing that the one tends to produce contempt, and the other leads to flattery. Accordingly, he granted audiences sparingly, and those only to persons on serious business, and closed his ears against idle talk, not with wax, as poets say, but rather with reason; so that this latter was an excellent key to them, appropriately both opening and closing them during conversation. So completely had he banished both ignorance, the mother of audacity, and also cowardice, which is at the same time a foreigner and a neighbour to the former, that with him to face danger was an act of prudence, and to decline it was a measure of safety; while both courage and discretion were the charioteers of opportunity, and guided the reins to whatever quarter necessity directed: so that his efforts were both restrained and put forth, as it were, by measure and rule. Concerning this person I shall speak more fully in the sequel; since the detail of his greatness and excellence I must reserve for the history of his reign; which displayed the man in a clearer light, as unfolding,

¹ See above, note on chap. 3.

² Arabissus, or Arabissum, was a town of Armenia; and in the first Constantinopolitan synod, a bishop of Arabissus in Armenia is mentioned.

through freedom of action, even the more inward parts of his character.

This Maurice, advancing beyond the limits of the empire, captures both cities and fortresses, of the greatest importance to the Persians, and carried off so much plunder, that the captives were sufficiently numerous to occupy at length whole islands, towns, and districts which had been deserted : and thus the land, which had been previously untilled, was everywhere restored to cultivation. Numerous armies also were raised from among them, that fought resolutely and courageously against the other nations. At the same time every household was completely furnished with domestics, on account of the easy rate at which slaves were procured.

CHAP. XX.—OVERTHROW OF THE PERSIANS.

HE also engaged Tamchosroes and Adaarmanes, the principal Persian commanders, who had advanced against him with a considerable force ; but the nature, manner, and place of these transactions I leave others to record, or shall perhaps myself make them the subject of a distinct work, since my present one professes to treat of matters of a very different kind. Tamchosroes, however, falls in battle,¹ not by the bravery of the Roman soldiery, but merely through the piety and faith of their commander : and Adaarmanes, being worsted in the fight and having lost many of his men, flies with precipitation, and this too, although Alamundarus, the commander of the Scenite barbarians, played the traitor in declining to cross the Euphrates and support Maurice against the Scenites of the opposite party. For this people are invincible by any other than themselves, on account of the fleetness of their horses : when hemmed in, they cannot be captured ; and they outstrip their enemies in retreat. Theodoric too, commander of the Scythian troops, did not so much as venture within range of the missiles, but fled with all his people.

¹ Theophylactus relates (b. iii. ch. 18) that he was killed in battle against Mauricius, after the death of the emperor Justinus.

CHAP. XXI.—PRODIGIES FORESHOWING THE ELEVATION OF MAURICE TO THE EMPIRE.

PRODIGES also occurred, which indicated that the imperial power was destined to Maurice. As he was offering incense, at the dead of night, within the sanctuary of Mary, the holy and immaculate virgin and Mother of God, which is called by the Antiochenes the church of Justinian, the veil which surrounds the holy table became wrapt in flames; so that Maurice was seized with amazement and awe, and was terrified at the sight. Gregory, the archbishop of the city, who was standing by, said that it was a Divine manifestation, betokening to him to the highest fortune.

Christ our God also appeared to him when in the East, calling upon him to avenge Him: which circumstance distinctly intimated the possession of sovereign power; for of what other person would He have made the demand than of an emperor, and one who manifested so much piety towards Him?

His parents also detailed to me circumstances remarkable and worthy of being recorded, when I was making inquiries on this point: for his father said that, about the time of his conception, he had seen in a dream a very large vine growing from his bed, on which hung great numbers of beautiful clusters of grapes; and his mother told me that, at the time of her delivery, the earth sent forth a strange odour of peculiar sweetness; and that *Empusa*,¹ as she is called, had often carried off the child for the purpose of devouring him, but had been unable to injure him.

Simeon, too, who practised the station upon the pillar in the neighbourhood of Theopolis, a most energetic man, and distinguished by every divine virtue, both said and did many things which betokened his succession to the empire. The sequel of the history will relate respecting him whatever circumstances are suitable.

¹ A witch. See Sozomen, Eccl. Hist. b. viii. ch. 6. The *Empusa* is mentioned by Aristophanes (*Ranæ*, l. 293); the Latin equivalent is *Larva*, or *Striga*.

CHAP. XXII.—ACCESSION OF MAURICE.

MAURICE assumes the sovereignty, when Tiberius was at the point of death, and had bestowed upon him his daughter Augusta, and the empire as her dowry. Notwithstanding the shortness of his reign, Tiberius left behind him an immortal memorial in the remembrance of his good deeds; for he bequeathed to the commonwealth, in the appointment of Maurice, an inheritance, not admitting of specification in terms, but most precious. He also distributed his own appellations, giving to Maurice the name of Tiberius, and to Augusta that of Constantina. The transactions of their reign the sequel of the history will set forth, with the aid of the Divine impulse.

CHAP. XXIII.—CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENT.

IN order also to an accurate account of the various periods of time, be it known that Justin the younger reigned alone twelve years, ten months and a half; and in conjunction with Tiberius, three years and eleven months: so that the whole period is sixteen years, nine months and a half. Tiberius also reigned four years alone: so that the whole time from Romulus to the proclamation of Maurice Tiberius, amounts to * * * years; as appears from the previous and present dates.

CHAP. XXIV.—SUCCESSION OF WRITERS ON SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY.

By the aid of God, an account of the affairs of the Church, presenting a fair survey of the whole, has been preserved for us in what has been recorded by Eusebius Pamphili down to the time of Constantine, and thenceforward as far as Theodosius the younger, by Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates, and in the matters which have been selected for my present work.

Primitive and profane history has been also preserved in a continuous narrative by those who have been zealous at the task; Moses being the first to compose history, as has been clearly shown by those who have collected whatever bears upon the subject, in writing a true account of events from the

beginning of the world, derived from what he learned in converse with God on Mount Sinai. Then follow the accounts which those who after him prepared the way for our religion have stored up in sacred Scriptures. Josephus also composed an extensive history, in every way valuable. All the stories, whether fabulous or true, relating to the contests of the Greeks and ancient barbarians, both among themselves and against each other, and whatever else had been achieved since the period at which they record the first existence of mankind, have been written by Charax, Theopompus, Ephorus, and others too numerous to mention. The transactions of the Romans, embracing the history of the whole world, and whatever else took place either with respect to their intestine divisions or their proceedings towards other nations, have been treated of by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has brought down his account from the times of what are called the Aborigines, to those of Pyrrhus of Epirus. The history is then taken up by Polybius of Megalopolis, who brings it down to the capture of Carthage. All these materials Appian has portioned out by a clear arrangement, separately grouping each series of transactions, though occurring at intervals of time. What events occurred subsequent to the before-mentioned periods, have been treated by Diodorus Siculus, as far as the time of Julius Cæsar, and by Dion Cassius, who continued his account as far as Antoninus of Emesa. In a similar work of Herodian, the account extends as far as the death of Maximus; and in that of Nicostratus, the sophist of Trapezus, from Philip, the successor of Gordian, to Odenatus of Palmyra, and the ignominious expedition of Valerian against the Persians. Dexippus has also written at great length on the same subject, commencing with the Scythian wars, and terminating with the reign of Claudius, the successor of Gallienus: and he also included the military transactions of the Carpi and other barbarian tribes, in Greece, Thrace, and Ionia. Eusebius too, commencing from Octavian, Trajan, and Marcus, brought his account down to the death of Carus. The history of the same times has been partially written¹ both by Arrian and Asinius Quadratus: that of the succeeding period

¹ Arrian wrote the *Parthica* and *Alanica*, in which books he related the actions performed by the Romans in their wars against the Parthians and Alans. These are the books to which Evagrius here alludes.

by Zosimus, as far as Honorius and Arcadius. and events subsequent to their reign by Priscus the rhetorician, and others. The whole of this range of history has been excellently epitomized by Eustathius of Epiplania, in two volumes, one extending to the capture of Troy, the other to the twelfth year of the reign of Anastasius. The occurrences subsequent to that period have been written by Procopius the rhetorician as far as the time of Justinian; and the account has been thenceforward continued by Agathias the rhetorician, and John, my fellow-citizen¹ and kinsman, as far as the flight of Chosroes the younger to the Romans, and his restoration to his kingdom: on which occasion Maurice was by no means tardy in his operations, but royally entertained the fugitive, and with the utmost speed restored him to his kingdom, at great cost and with numerous forces. These writers, however, have not yet published their history. With respect to these events, I also will detail in the sequel such matters as are suitable, with the favour of the higher power.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.—NUPTIALS OF MAURICE AND AUGUSTA.

MAURICE, on succeeding to the empire, in the first place made the necessary arrangements for his nuptials, and, in accordance with the imperial ordinance, marries Augusta, named also Constantina, with magnificent ceremony, and with public banquetings and festivity in every part of the city. In attendance on the nuptials were Religion and Royalty, offering an escort most distinguished and gifts most precious. For the one supplied a father and mother, to hallow the rite with honoured locks of grey and venerable wrinkles—a circumstance strange in the history of sovereigns—as also brethren noble and blooming, to give dignity to the nuptial procession: the other, a gold embroidered robe, adorned with purple and Indian gems, and crowns most costly, with abund-

¹ This John was consequently a native of Epiphania, a city of Syria, which was Evagrius's native place, as we learn from above, b. iii. ch. 34. *Vales.*

ance of gold and the varied emblazonment of jewels ; together with the attendance of all who were distinguished in courtly rank or military service, lighting the nuptial flambeaux in splendid costumes and investitures, and hymning the bridal cavalcade : so that no human display was ever more majestic and happy. Damophilus, when writing on the subject of Rome, says that Plutarch the Chæronean¹ has well remarked, that in order to her greatness alone did Virtue and Fortune unite in friendly truce : but, for myself, I would say, that in respect of Maurice alone did Piety and Good Fortune so conspire ; by Piety laying compulsion upon Fortune, and not permitting her to shift at all. It was henceforward the settled aim of the emperor to wear the purple and the diadem not merely on his person but also on his soul : for he alone of recent sovereigns was sovereign of himself ; and, with authority most truly centred in himself, he banished from his own soul the mob-rule of the passions, and having established an aristocracy in his own reasonings, he showed himself a living image of virtue, training his subjects to imitation. Nor have I said this by way of flattery : for how could such be my motive, since he is not acquainted with what is being written ? That such was, however, the case with Maurice, will be evidenced by the gifts bestowed upon him by God, and the circumstances of various kinds that must unquestionably be referred to Divine favour.

CHAP. II.—ALAMUNDARUS THE ARAB AND HIS SON NAAMANES.

BESIDES his other noble purposes, this was an especial object with the emperor, to avoid in every case the shedding of the blood of persons guilty of treason. Accordingly, he did not put to death Alamundarus, chieftain of the Scenite Arabs, who had betrayed both the commonwealth and Maurice himself, as I have already detailed ;² but sentenced him to deportation to an island with his wife and some of his children, and appointed Sicily as the place of his banishment. Naamanes his son, notwithstanding a unanimous sentence of death, he detained as a prisoner at large, without any further infliction ; although he had filled the empire with endless mischiefs, and, by the

¹ De Fortunâ Romanorum, sub init.
[EVAGRIUS.]

² See above, b. v. ch. 20.

hands of his followers, had plundered either Phœnicia and Palestine, and enslaved the inhabitants, at the time when Alamundarus was captured. He pursued the same course in innumerable other cases, which shall be severally noticed in their places.

CHAP. III.—MILITARY OPERATIONS OF JOHN AND PHILIPPICUS.

MAURICE sent out as commander of the forces of the East, first, John, a Scythian, who, after experiencing some reverses, with some alternations of success, achieved nothing worthy of mention; afterwards, Philippicus, who was allied to him by having married one of his two sisters: Having crossed the border and laid waste all before him, he amassed great booty, and killed many of the nobles of Nisibis and the other cities situated within the Tigris. He also gave battle to the Persians, and, after a severe conflict, attended with the loss of many distinguished men on the side of the enemy, he made numerous prisoners, and dismissed unharmed a battalion, which had retreated to an eminence and was fairly in his power, under a promise that they would urge their sovereign to send immediate proposals for peace. He also completed other measures during the continuance of his command, namely, in withdrawing his troops from superfluities and things tending to luxury, and in reducing them to discipline and subordination: the representation of which transactions must be fixed by writers, past or present, according as they may be or have been circumstanced with respect to hearsay or opinion—writers whose narrative, stumbling and limping through ignorance, or rendered affected by partiality, or blinded by antipathy, misses the mark of truth.

CHAP. IV. —MUTINY OF THE TROOPS AGAINST PRISCUS.

He is succeeded in the command by Priscus, a person difficult of access, and not readily approached without necessary occasion, who expected the successful accomplishment of all his measures if he should maintain an almost entire seclusion; from a notion, that, through the awe thence resulting, the soldiery also would be more obedient to orders. Accordingly, on his arrival at the camp with stern and haughty look and

in imposing costume, he issued certain orders, relating to the hardihood of the soldiery in the field, to strictness in respect of their arms and to their allowances. Having received previous intimation of the proceeding, they then gave unrestrained vent to their rage; and advancing in a body to the general's quarters, they pillage, in barbarian fashion, all his magnificence and the most valuable of his treasures, and would inevitably have despatched Priscus himself, had he not mounted one of the led horses,¹ and escaped to Edessa: to which place they laid siege, demanding his surrender.

CHAP. V.—COMPULSORY ELEVATION OF GERMANUS.

ON the refusal of their demands by the citizens, they leave Priscus there, and seizing Germanus, who at that time held the command in Phœnicia Libanensis, they elect him their own general and emperor, while he resisted and they were the more urgent; and a struggle thus arose, on the part of the one to escape compulsion, of the others to enforce their object. After they had menaced him with death unless he would embrace the offered charge, and he, on his part, eagerly embraced the alternative, disclaiming all fear and consternation, they proceeded to certain severities and methods of cruelty, which they thought he would not be able to bear; for they did not suppose that he would manifest greater endurance than the strength of nature and his time of life would warrant. By putting him to the trial at first cautiously and sparingly, they succeed in forcing him to accede to their demands, and solemnly to swear that he would be true to them. Thus they compelled him to be their ruler under rule, their subject sovereign, their master in thralldom. Then chasing from them the officers of every grade, they elect others in their place, openly reviling the imperial government. They treated provincials on the whole less harshly than the barbarians did, but in a manner very unlike allies or servants² of the commonwealth: for they

¹ These horses the Latins termed *Veredos*, because they conveyed the *Redæ*, as Festus tells us. Evagrius uses this word again below, chap. 15. *Vales*.

² Or rather "slaves" (*πολιτείας δοῦλοι*). The militia amongst the Romans, from the times of Augustus, was a kind of temporary servitude. Hence the soldiers were marked with brands on their skin, as slaves, and the *Missio Militaris*, or military discharge, plainly answers to the manumission of slaves.

levied their provisions not according to stated measures or weight, and were not contented with the quarters¹ assigned to them: but the will of each individual was a rule, and his caprice an established measure.

CHAP VI.—MISSION OF PHILIPPICUS.

THE emperor despatches Philippicus to settle this ferment: they, however, not only denied him reception, but perilled the lives of all whom they supposed to be connected with him.

CHAP. VII.—ACCUSATIONS AGAINST GREGORY, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.

WHILE matters were in this situation, Gregory, bishop of Theopolis, returns from the imperial city, after having been victorious in the struggle which I now proceed to detail.

At the time when Asterius held the government of the East, a quarrel had arisen between him and Gregory: the higher ranks of the city sided entirely with the former, and were supported by the populace, and by those who were engaged in trades; for each class declared that they had been injured by Gregory; until at last licence was given to the rabble to vent their abuse against him. Thus both the other classes accorded with the populace, and they clamoured forth their insults against the prelate in the streets and the theatre; and even the actors indulged in them. Asterius is removed from his government, and John is invested with it, with orders from the emperor to make inquiry into the stir; a man incompetent to the management of the most trifling matters, much less a business so important. Having, in consequence, filled the city with confusion and uproar, and given public licence to any one that chose to accuse the bishop, he receives a formal charge against him from a certain banker, to the effect that he had had criminal intercourse with his own sister, married to another man. He also receives accusations from other persons

¹ As often as the Roman army was about to make a long march, an edict was published in which all the quarters, in which the soldiers were to stay, were set forth. The inns also, or houses wherein the soldiers, either going to or returning from an expedition, were to stay, were set out by the *mensores*, or quarter-masters.

of the same stamp against Gregory, as having repeatedly disturbed the peace of the city. On the latter charge he declared his readiness to make his defence: with respect to the others, he appealed to the emperor and a synod. Accordingly, he repaired to the imperial city, to make answer to these charges, accompanied by myself as his adviser,¹ and is victorious after a prolonged struggle during an investigation of the matter before the patriarchs from every quarter, who appeared either in person or by deputy, as well as the sacred senate, and many most religious metropolitans: and the result was that the accuser, after having been scourged and paraded round the city, was sent into exile. Gregory thence returns to his see, at the time when the troops were in a state of mutiny, and Philippicus was remaining in the neighbourhood of Berœa and Chalcis.

CHAP. VIII.—RECURRENCE OF EARTHQUAKES AT ANTIOCH.

AT an interval of four months from the return of Gregory, in the six hundred and thirty-seventh year of the era of Theopolis, sixty-one years after the former earthquake,² a crash and concussion shook the entire city, about the third hour of the night, on the last day of the month Hyperberetæus, at the time when I was celebrating my marriage with a young maiden, and the whole city was making rejoicings and holding a festival at the public cost, in honour of the nuptial ceremony. This convulsion levelled by far the greater part of the buildings, their very foundations being cast up by it, and all the portions of the most holy church were thrown to the ground, with the exception of the hemisphere, which, after its injury by the earthquake in the time of Justin, had been secured by

¹ What is now-a-days usually done amongst us in criminal suits and prosecutions, that counsel should be assigned to the party accused, was in early use in ecclesiastical courts of judicature also, as Evagrius here informs us. It is to be observed that Gregory, bishop of Antioch, when accused of incest by a laic before a secular judge, appealed to the emperor and a synod. And also that Evagrius says, that Gregory's cause was tried before the patriarchs and metropolitans, and before the senators. So in the Chalcedon synod, after the bishops and secular judges were met together, the cause of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, was discussed and determined.

² This fixes the date to A. D. 589. See above, b. iv. ch. 6.

Ephraemius with timbers from Daphne. By the subsequent shocks, it received an inclination in a northerly direction ; so that the timbers were thrown by it into a leaning position, and fell, when the hemisphere had returned, by the force of the shock, exactly into its original situation, as if it had been adjusted by a rule. Nearly the entire quarter named Ostracine was ruined, and Psephium, of which I have made previous mention, as well as all the parts called Brysia, and the buildings of the venerable sanctuary of the Mother of God, with the sole exception of the central colonnade, which was singularly preserved. All the towers of the plain were also damaged, though the other buildings in that quarter escaped, with the exception of the battlements, of which some stones were thrown backwards, though they did not fall. Other churches also suffered injury, and one of the public baths, namely, that which had separate divisions according to the seasons. An incalculable number of persons were involved in the destruction, and, according to an estimate which some persons drew from the supply of bread,¹ about sixty thousand perished. The bishop experienced a most unexpected preservation in the midst of the fall of the entire habitation where he then was, and the destruction of every individual except those who were near his person. These took up the bishop in their arms, and lowered him by a cord, after a second shock had rent an opening, and thus they removed him beyond the reach of danger. Another preservation was also granted to the city, our compassionate God having mitigated the keenness of His threatened vengeance, and corrected our sin with the branch of pity and mercy : for no conflagration followed, though so many fires were spread about the place, in hearths, public and private lamps, kitchens, furnaces, baths, and innumerable other forms. Very many persons of distinction, and among them Asterius himself, became the victims of the calamity. The emperor endeavoured to alleviate this visitation by grants of money.

¹ Valesius explains this passage as follows. As at Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria, so also at Antioch, the *Annona* was distributed to the citizens out of the public stock. From this bread therefore, which they were wont to distribute daily, it was easy to collect the number of the dead.

CHAP. IX.—INROAD AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BARBARIANS.

IN the army, matters continued in the same state ; and, in consequence, the barbarians made an inroad, in the expectation that there would be no one to check them in the exercise of barbarian practices. Germanus, however, encounters them with his forces, and inflicted a defeat so destructive, that not a man was left to convey to the Persians tidings of the misfortune.

CHAP. X.—CLEMENCY OF THE EMPEROR TOWARDS THE REBELS.
INVASION OF THE AVARS.

ACCORDINGLY, the emperor remunerates the troops with largesses of money ; and, withdrawing Germanus and others, brings them to trial. They were all condemned to death : but the emperor would not permit any infliction whatever ; on the contrary, he bestowed rewards on them.

During the course of these transactions, the Avars twice made an inroad as far as the Long Wall, and captured Anchialus, Singidunum, and many towns and fortresses throughout the whole of Greece, enslaving the inhabitants, and laying everything waste with fire and sword ; in consequence of the greater part of the forces being engaged in the East. Accordingly, the emperor sends Andrew, the first of the imperial guards, on an attempt to induce the troops to receive their former officers.

CHAP. XI.—MISSION OF THE PATRIARCH GREGORY TO THE TROOPS.

SINCE, however, the troops would not endure the bare mention of the proposal, the business is transferred to Gregory, not only as being a person competent to the execution of the most important measures, but because he had earned the highest regard from the soldiery ; since some of them had received presents from him in money, others in clothing, provisions, and other things, when they were passing his neighbourhood at the time of their enlistment. Accordingly, he assembles, by summons despatched to every quarter, the principal persons of the army at Litarba, a place distant from Theopolis about three hundred stadia ; and, though confined

to his couch, addressed them in person, in the following words.

CHAP. XII.—ORATION OF GREGORY TO THE TROOPS.

"I HAVE been expecting, O Romans—Romans both in name and deeds—that your visit to me would have been made long ago, for the purpose of communicating to me your present circumstances, and of receiving that friendly counsel of which you have an assurance in my kindness towards you, so unequivocally evinced by past occurrences, at the time when I relieved, by a supply of necessities, your tempest-struck and wave-tost plight.¹ Since, however, this course has not hitherto been taken—it may be that Providence has not permitted it, in order that the Persians, having been utterly defeated by men without a leader, might be thereby thoroughly taught the prowess of the Romans, and that your pure loyalty might be completely proved, in having been tested by the juncture and testified by your deeds; for you showed that, notwithstanding your quarrel with your officers, you do not regard anything as more important than the good of the commonwealth—let us accordingly now deliberate what ought to be your conduct. Your sovereign invites you with a promise of an amnesty of all past transactions, receiving the display of your loyalty to the commonwealth and your prowess in the field as emblems of supplication. While bestowing upon you these most certain pledges of pardon the emperor thus speaks: 'Since God has given victory to their loyalty, and, on the abandonment of their errors, a signal display has been granted to their prowess as a clear intimation of forgiveness, how can I do otherwise than follow the judgment of Heaven? A king's heart is in the hand of God, and He sways it whithersoever He will.'² Yield, therefore, to me at once, O Romans. Let us not wilfully forfeit the present opportunity, nor allow it to elude our grasp: for opportunity, when it has once slipped from us, is most unwilling to be seized, and, as if it were indignant at having been neglect-

¹ Evagrius has here made use of a metaphor, and compares the Roman camp to a ship, and the mutiny they had raised he compares to a tempest. The metaphor is strictly classical.

² See Prov. xxi. 1.

ed, is ever after intolerant of capture. Show yourselves the heirs of the obedience of your fathers, as ye are of their courage; in order that ye may appear altogether Romans, and no taunt may touch you or point at you as degenerate. Your fathers, under the command of consuls and emperors, by obedience and courage became masters of the whole world. Manlius Torquatus,¹ though he crowned, yet also put to death his son, who had played a valiant part, but in disobedience of orders. For by skill on the part of the leaders, combined with obedience in those whom they lead, great successes are ordinarily achieved; but either, when bereaved of the other, is lame and unsteady, and is utterly overthrown by the separation of the excellent pair. Be not therefore tardy, but at once obey my call, while the priestly office mediates between the emperor and the army; and show that your proceedings were not the establishment of a rival sovereign, but a transient display of just indignation against commanders who had wronged you: for unless you immediately embrace the offer, I shall at once consider myself as quit of the service laid upon me in this matter by my duty to the commonwealth and my regard for you. Consider too, yourselves, what has been the fate of pretenders to the sovereignty. What, too, will be the termination of your present position? To continue concentrated is impossible: for whence will you derive your provision of ordinary fruits, or those supplies which the sea furnishes to the land, except by war between Christians, and the mutual infliction of the most disgraceful treatment? What, too, will be the final result? You will live in dispersion, and haunted by Justice, who will henceforward disdain to bestow forgiveness. Let us therefore give pledges of amity, and consider what course will be for the benefit of ourselves and the state, at a time, too, when we shall have the days of the saving Passion and of the most holy Resurrection conspiring with the deed."

CHAP. XIII.—SUBMISSION OF THE TROOPS.

HAVING thus addressed them, accompanying his speech with many tears, he wrought an instantaneous change in the minds of all, as it had been by some divine impulse. They immediately requested permission to retire from the meeting,

¹ See the story as given by Livy, b. viii. ch. 5—12.

and to deliberate among themselves respecting the course to be pursued. After a short interval they returned, and placed themselves at the disposal of the bishop. However, on his naming Philippicus to them, in order that they might themselves request him for a commander, they declared that the whole army had on this point bound themselves with fearful oaths: but the bishop, undeterred by this, without the least delay said, that he was a bishop by Divine permission, and had authority to loose and bind both upon earth and in heaven, and at the same time quoted the sacred oracle.¹ On their yielding upon this point also, he propitiated the Deity with supplication and prayers,² at the same time administering to them the communion of the immaculate body; for it happened to be the second day of the holy Passion week."³ After he had feasted them all, to the number of two thousand, upon couches hastily constructed on the turf, he returned home the following day. It was also agreed that the soldiers should assemble wherever they might choose. Gregory in consequence sends for Philippicus, who at that time was at Tarsus in Cilicia, intending to proceed immediately to the imperial city; and he also reports these proceedings to the government, communicating at the same time the prayer of the soldiery respecting Philippicus. Accordingly, they meet Philippicus at Theopolis, and employing those who had been admitted to partake in the divine regeneration, to entreat for them, they bend in supplication before him, and, on receiving a solemn promise of amnesty, they return to their duty with him. Such was the progress of these events.

CHAP. XIV. LOSS OF MARTYROPOLIS.

A CERTAIN Sittas, one of the petty officers⁴ stationed at Martyropolis, considering himself aggrieved by the command-

¹ Matt. xvi. 19.

² These prayers and supplications may be referred, either to the reconciliation of the penitents, and to the absolution from that oath wherein the soldiers had bound themselves; or else to the solemn prayers which Gregory then celebrated before the tribunes and centurions of the Roman army, to whom also he distributed the holy communion *Vales.*

³ That is, the Monday of the Great Week, or Holy Week, the Monday next before Easter

⁴ *Decani.* These were commanders of ten soldiers, answering to what is now called the head of a file. *Vales.*

ers in that place, betrays the city, by watching the withdrawal of the troops which occupied it, and introducing a Persian battalion under colour of being Romans. He thus obtained possession of a place which was most important to the Romans; and, retaining most of the younger females, expelled all the other inhabitants, except a few domestic slaves.

Philippicus in consequence marched thither, and beleaguered the city, without being provided with things necessary for the siege. Nevertheless, he maintained his operations with such means as he possessed, and, having run several mines, threw down one of the towers. He was unable, however, to make himself master of the place, because the Persians continued their exertions through the night, and secured the breach. When the Romans, repeatedly assaulting, were as often repulsed, for the missiles were hurled upon them from vantage ground with unerring aim, and since they were suffering greater loss than they inflicted, they at last raised the siege, and encamped at a short distance, with the sole object of preventing the Persians from reinforcing the garrison. By the order of Maurice, Gregory visits the camp, and induces them to resume the siege. They were, however, unable to accomplish anything, from their utter want of engines for sieges. In consequence, the army breaks up for winter quarters, and numerous garrisons are left in the neighbouring forts, to prevent the Persians from secretly introducing succours into the place.

In the succeeding summer, on the re-assembling of the army, and the advance of the Persians, a severely contested battle is fought before Martyropolis. Though the advantage was on the side of Philippicus, and many Persians had fallen, with the loss of one distinguished chieftain, a considerable body of the enemy made their way into the city; which was in fact their main object. Thenceforward the Romans gave up the siege in despair, as being unable to encounter this force, and they erect a rival city at the distance of seven stadia, in a stronger situation on the mountains, in order to the carrying on of counter-operations. Such were the proceedings of the army during the summer; it broke up on the approach of winter.

CHAP. XV.—CAPTURE OF OCHAS.

COMENTIOIUS, a Thracian by birth, is sent out as a successor in the command to Philippicus. He engaged the Persians with great spirit, and would have lost his life by being thrown to the ground together with his horse, had not one of the guards mounted him upon a led horse,¹ and conveyed him out of the battle. In consequence, the enemy fly with precipitation, with the loss of all their commanders, and retire to Nisibis; and, fearing to return to their king, since he had threatened them with death unless they should bring off their commanders in safety, they there enter into the insurrection against Hormisdas, now that Varamus, the Persian general, had already entertained that design with his party on his return from his encounter with the Turks. In the mean time, Comentiolus, having commenced the siege of Martyropolis, leaves there the greater part of his army, and himself makes an excursion with a chosen body of troops to Ochas, a very strong fortress, situated on a precipice on the bank opposite to Martyropolis, and commanding a view of the whole of that city. Having employed every effort in the siege, and thrown down some portion of the wall by catapults, he takes the place by storming the breach. In consequence, the Persians thenceforward despaired of keeping possession of Martyropolis.

CHAP. XVI.—MURDER OF HORMISDAS.

WHILE such was the course of these events, the Persians despatched Hormisdas, the most unjust of all monarchs, in as far as he inflicted upon his subjects not only pecuniary exactions, but also various modes of death.

CHAP. XVII.—FLIGHT OF CHOSROES THE YOUNGER.

THEY establish as his successor his son Chosroes,² against whom Varamus advanced with his troops. Chosroes encounters

¹ Generals, when they went to an engagement, were wont to lead with them several horses, that if that on which they rode were by chance killed, they might mount another.

² Chosroes was made king of the Persians in the year of Christ 592, as Baronus writes in his Annals.

him with an inconsiderable force, and takes to flight on seeing his own men deserting him. He arrives at Circesium, having, according to his own account, vowed to the God of the Christians, that he would allow his horse to take its course wherever it should be guided by Him. He was accompanied by his wives and two newly-born children, and certain Persian nobles who voluntarily followed him. Thence he sends an embassy to the emperor Maurice; who, manifesting on this occasion too the soundest judgment, and deriving from the very circumstances an estimate of the instability and mutability of life, and the sudden fluctuations of human affairs, admits his suit, and treats him as a guest instead of an exile, and as a son instead of a fugitive, welcoming him with royal gifts, which were sent not only by the emperor himself, but, in similar style, by the empress to the consorts of Chosroes, and also by their children to the children.

CHAP. XVIII.—MISSION OF GREGORY AND DOMITIAN TO MEET CHOSROES.

THE emperor also despatches the whole of his body-guards and the entire Roman army with their commander, with orders to attend Chosroes wherever he might choose to proceed: and by way of still greater distinction, he also sends Domitian, bishop of Melitene, his own kinsman, a man of sense and ability, most capable both in word and deed, and most efficient for the despatch of the highest transactions. He sends Gregory too: who on all points filled Chosroes with amazement, by his conversation, by his munificence, and by his suggestion of seasonable measures.

CHAP. XIX.—RESTORATION OF CHOSROES.

CHOSROES, having proceeded as far as Hierapolis, the capital of Euphratensis, immediately returned: and this was done with the consent of Maurice, who favoured the interest of his suppliant more than his own glory. He also presents Chosroes with a large sum of money, a circumstance never before recorded; and having raised a body of Persians, and supplied the cost from his own means, he sends him across the border with a combined force of Romans and Persians, after Martyro-

polis had been previously surrendered, together with the traitor Sittas; whom the inhabitants stoned and impaled. Daras was also recovered on its evacuation by the Persian garrison, and Chosroes was restored to his kingdom in consequence of the utter overthrow of Varamus, in a single engagement with the Roman troops only, and his inglorious and solitary flight.

CHAP. XX.—GOLANDUCH THE MARTYR.

At that time there was living in our country Golanduch, a female martyr, who maintained her testimony through a course of severe sufferings when tortured by the Persian Magi, and was a worker of extraordinary miracles. Her life was written by Stephen, the former bishop of Hierapolis.

CHAP. XXI.—OFFERINGS OF CHOSROES.

CHOSROES, on his restoration to his kingdom, sends to Gregory a cross, embellished with much gold and precious stones, in honour of the victorious martyr Sergius; which cross Theodora, the wife of Justinian, had dedicated, and Chosroes had carried off, with the other treasures, as I have already related.¹ He also sends another golden cross, on which was engraven the following inscription in Greek:—

“This cross I, Chosroes, king of kings, son of Hormisdas, have sent. After I had been compelled to take refuge in the Roman territory by the slanderous practices and villany of the unhappy Varamus and his cavalry, and when, because the unhappy Zadespram had come to Nisibis with an army, with a view to seduce the cavalry in that quarter to revolt and raise commotion, we also had sent a body of cavalry with a commander to Charchas; at that time, by the fortune of the venerable and renowned saint, Sergius, having heard that he granted the petitions addressed to him, we vowed, in the first year of our reign, on the seventh day of January, that if our cavalry should slay or capture Zadespram, we would send to his sanctuary a golden cross, embellished with jewels for the sake of his venerable name; and on the seventh day of February they brought to us the head of Zadespram. Having, accordingly, obtained our petition, in order that each circum-

¹ See above, book iv. chap. 28.

stance should be placed beyond all doubt, we have sent, in honour of his venerable name, this cross, -which we have caused to be made, and together with it that which was sent to his sanctuary by Justinian, emperor of the Romans, and which was conveyed hither by our father¹ Chosroes, king of kings, son of Cabades, at the time of the rupture between the two states, and has been found among our treasures."

Gregory, having received these crosses, with the approval of the emperor Maurice, dedicated them with much ceremony in the sanctuary of the martyr. Shortly after, Chosroes sent other offerings for the same temple, with a golden disc, bearing the following inscription:—

"I, Chosroes, king of kings, son of Hormisdas, have placed the inscription upon this disc, not as an object for the gaze of mankind, nor that the greatness of thy venerable name might be made known by words of mine, but on account of the truth of the matters therein recorded, and the many benefits and favours which I have received at thy hands: for, that my name should be inscribed on thy sacred vessels, is a happiness to me. At the time when I was at Beramais, I begged of thee, O holy one, that thou wouldest come to my aid, and that Sira might conceive: and inasmuch as Sira was a Christian and I a heathen, and our law forbids us to have a Christian wife, nevertheless, on account of my favourable feelings towards thee, I disregarded the law as respects her, and among my wives I have constantly esteemed, and do still esteem, her as peculiarly mine. Thus I resolved to request of thy goodness, O saint, that she might conceive: and I made the request with a vow, that, if Sira should conceive, I would send the cross she wears to thy venerable sanctuary. On this account both I and Sira purposed to retain this cross in memory of thy name, O saint, and in place of it to send five thousand staters, as its value, which does not really exceed four thousand four hundred staters.² From the time that I conceived this request and these intentions, until I reached Rhosochosron, not more than ten days elapsed, when thou, O saint, not on

¹ Or, grandfather. See above, book iv. chap. 28.

² There were three sorts of staters: 1. Stater Atticus; of the value of about fifteen shillings. 2. Stater Aureus Macedonicus; worth in our money about eighteen shillings and four pence. 3. Stater Daricus, which it is probable is the money here meant; it was valued at fifteen shillings.

account of my worthiness, but thy kindness, appearedst to me in a vision of the night, and didst thrice tell me that Sira should conceive, while, in the same vision, thrice I replied, It is well. From that day forward Sira has not experienced the custom of women, because thou art the granter of requests; though I, had I not believed thy words, and that thou art holy and the granter of requests, should have doubted that she would not thenceforward experience the custom of women. From this circumstance I was convinced of the power of the vision and the truth of thy words, and accordingly forthwith sent the same cross and its value to thy venerable sanctuary, with directions that out of that sum should be made a disc, and a cup for the purposes of the divine mysteries, as also a cross to be fixed upon the holy table, and a censer, all of gold: also a Hunnish veil¹ adorned with gold. Let the surplus of the sum belong to thy sanctuary, in order that by virtue of thy fortune, O saint, thou mayest come to the aid of me and Sira in all matters, and especially with respect to this petition; and that what has been already procured for us by thy intercession, may be consummated according to the compassion of thy goodness, and the desire of me and Sira; so that both of us, and all persons in the world, may trust in thy power and continue to believe in thee."

Such is the language of the offerings sent by Chosroes: an instance altogether resembling the prophecy of Balaam; since our compassionate God has wisely disposed it, that the tongues of heathens should give utterance to saving words.

CHAP. XXII.—NAAMANES THE ARAB.

AT the same time Naamanes, chieftain of the Scenites, after having been a detestable and vile heathen, to such an

¹ In the churches of the Christians there were curtains before the doors. And at the very altar there were curtains, wherewith the doors of the altar or choir were covered. And when the priest was about to celebrate the eucharist, those curtains were wont to be drawn, that the people might behold the mysteries afar off. This is attested by St. Chrysostom, in his third Homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in these words. "so also here, when the sacrifice is offered, and Christ is sacrificed, when you shall hear these words, 'Let us all pray together,' when you see the curtains drawn, then think that heaven is opened from above," &c. The word ἀμφοδύρα, is taken for the curtains which were placed at the doors of the altar.

extent as to sacrifice with his own hand human beings to his gods, approached the sacred baptism. At which time he melted down a Venus of solid gold, and divided it among the poor, and also brought over all his followers to the service of God.

Gregory too, after the presentation of the crosses of Chosroes, while making, with the approbation of the government, a visitation of the solitudes on the borders, where the doctrines of Severus extensively prevailed, brought into union with the church of God many garrisons, villages, monasteries, and entire tribes.

CHAP. XXIII.—SIMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER.

At this time, when the sainted Simeon was afflicted with a mortal disease, Gregory, on being informed by me of the circumstance, hastens to salute him for the last time, but was nevertheless disappointed. This Simeon far surpassed all his contemporaries in virtue, and endured the discipline of a life on the top of a column from his earliest years, since he even cast his teeth in that situation. The occasion on which he was first elevated on the column, was the following. While still very young, he was roving about, sporting and bounding along the eminences of the mountain, and meeting with a panther, he throws his girdle round its neck, and with this kind of halter led the beast, ^{he} guiled of its ferocity, to his monastery. His preceptor, who himself occupied a column, observing the circumstance, inquired what he had got; to which he replied, that it was a cat. Conjecturing from this occurrence how distinguished the child would be for virtue, he took him up upon the column; and on this column, and on another, towering above the summit of the mountain, he spend sixty-eight years; earning thereby the highest gifts of grace, in respect of the ejection of demons, the healing of every disease and malady, and the foresight of future things as if they were present.

He also foretold to Gregory that the latter would not witness his death, but said that he was ignorant of the events which should follow it.

On occasion also of my ponderings on the loss of my children, when I was perplexed with the suggestion, why such

things did not befall heathens who had numerous offspring; although I had not disclosed my thoughts to any one, he wrote advising me to abandon such ideas as being displeasing to God.

In the case of the wife of one of my amanuenses, when the milk would not flow after child-birth, and the child was in extreme danger, laying his hand upon the right hand of her husband, he bid him place it upon the breasts of his wife. When this was done, immediately the milk started, as if from a fountain, so as to saturate her dress.

A child having been forgotten at dead of night by its fellow-travellers, a lion took it on its back, and conveyed it to the monastery; when, by orders of Simeon, the servants went out and brought in the child under the protection of the lion.

Many other actions he performed, surpassing everything that has been recorded; which demand of an historian elegance of language, leisure, and a separate treatise, being renowned by the tongues of mankind; for persons came to visit him from almost every part of the earth, not only Romans but barbarians, and obtained the object of their prayers. In his case, the place of food and drink was supplied by the branches of a shrub which grew upon the mountain.

CHAP. XXIV.—DEATH OF THE PATRIARCH GREGORY.

SHORTLY after, Gregory also dies, after taking a draught of medicine composed of what is called *Hermodactylus*, administered by one of the physicians during a fit of gout; a disease with which he was much afflicted. At the time of his death, Gregory, the successor of Pelagius, was bishop of Old Rome, and John of New Rome; Eulogius, one of those whom I have already mentioned, of Alexandria; and Anastasius was restored, after three and twenty years,¹ to the see of Theopolis.² John was bishop of Jerusalem; since whose decease, which occurred shortly after, no one has hitherto been intrusted with that see.

Here let me close my history, in the twelfth year of the

¹ Τῷ οἰκείῳ ἀποδοθέντος θρόνῳ. Hence it is evident that Anastasius was restored to the see of Antioch a little before Gregory's death.

² Anastasius had been deposed A. D. 570. See above, b. v. chap. 5.

reign of Maurice Tiberius, leaving the task of selecting and recording succeeding events to those who choose to undertake it. If any matter has been overlooked by me, or has been treated without sufficient accuracy, let no one blame me, considering that I have brought together scattered materials in order to the benefit of mankind; for whose sake I have submitted to so much toil.

I have also compiled another volume, containing memorials, epistles, decrees, orations, and disputations, and some other matters. The memorials were principally composed in the name of Gregory, bishop of Theopolis; and by means of them I obtained two dignities, Tiberius Constantine having conferred upon me quæstorian rank, and Maurice Tiberius that of prefecture, in consideration of what I composed at the time when he rid the empire of reproach in becoming the father of Theodosius, an earnest of all prosperity both to himself and the commonwealth.

THE END.

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